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# STATISTICAL AND HISTORICAL

# INQUIRY

INTO THE

*PROGRESS AND MAGNITUDE*

OF THE

# POPULATION OF IRELAND.

By THOMAS NEWENHAM, Esq.

*Author of several political Tracts relative to Ireland.*

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## SECTION IX.

Page.

*Of different Branches of the export Trade of Ireland, illustrative of a rapid Increase of People in that Country*..... 176

## SECTION X.

*Of different Branches of the Import Trade of Ireland, tending to evince a late rapid Increase of its Inhabitants*..... 212

## SECTION XI.

*Of the Consumption of different Articles in Ireland, considered as an Evidence of the actual Magnitude of its Population*.... 223

## SECTION XII.

*Of the Produce of the Hearth-Tax*..... 241

## SECTION XIII.

*Of the average Number of Persons allowed to each House*..... 247

## SECTION XIV.

*Of the more apparent Causes of the disparity, in Point of Increase, between the Populations of England and Ireland*... 261

## SECTION XV.

Page.

*Of the difference, in point of density, between the Populations of England and Ireland*..... 289

## SECTION XVI.

*Of the Numerical Proportion of the Roman Catholics to the Protestants of Ireland*.. 297

## SECTION XVII.

*Of the Competency of Ireland to support a much greater Population than it now contains*..... 320

# PREFACE.

THE political condition of Ireland, from the revolution until near the close of the last century, was little calculated to keep alive those hopes or fears which alone could have operated in rendering the British public solicitous to attain a knowledge of the different circumstances of that country. And a strong disposition to misrepresent them appears to have been rendered extremely prevalent, among Irishmen of different descriptions, by the irritation which preceded and followed the late deplorable rebellion.

Hence it has happened that, notwithstanding the local proximity of the sister

islands, and the intercourse of their inhabitants, many of the circumstances of Ireland, some of them perhaps involving effects of a momentous nature, or at least affording matter for very interesting political speculations, are, generally speaking, almost as imperfectly known in England, as those of some of the more remote parts of the British dominions.

Had England and Ireland continued under distinct Legislatures, the latter country would probably have experienced no great disadvantage from its circumstances being ill understood or wholly overlooked in the former. But the late incorporation of their respective Legislatures has, in this respect, essentially altered the case. From that event there has evidently arisen an obligation on every Irishman who has endeavoured to make himself acquainted with any of

the circumstances of his country, to rescue himself from the trammels of faction, and extend to this part of the United Kingdom whatever authentic information he may happen to possess. If the British public be not made acquainted with the internal circumstances of Ireland, it is not impossible that the people of that country may fail to enjoy those benefits which they were industriously taught to expect from the Union; and whereof the prospect had no inconsiderable effect in perfecting their acquiescence in the extinction of their newly acquired national independence, although that measure was dexterously pressed upon them during a transitory season of extraordinary disunion and dismay. And if the expectations which they were taught to entertain be not happily realized, it is not improbable that Ireland

may furnish permanent grounds of perplexity and debilitating alarm, instead of proving an inexhaustible source of strength and wealth.

Out of the concurrent opinions, on the subject of population, of all the more eminent political writers whose works have hitherto fallen under my observation, there appears to arise this proposition, that the population of a country, considered in all its various points of view, is a subject of as high importance as any that can engage the attention of those who are concerned in exercising the powers of government.

That the progress of the population of Ireland has not as yet been sufficiently illustrated; that much matter connected therewith still remains for investigation; that its present magnitude is very far from being generally known; and that a

comprehensive and unbiassed inquiry into these subjects, besides affording much satisfaction, may be productive of public benefit, are opinions with which I have been strongly impressed.

Of the very few essays which have been written on the population of Ireland, that of Mr. Bushe may be said, without detracting from the merit of any other, to have the fairest claim to our attention. Mr. Bushe enjoyed the most favourable opportunities of attaining a competent knowledge of the subject of his essay: and he appears to have been uncommonly assiduous and successful in detecting those various fraudulent and deceptious practices of the hearth-money collectors, which had long the effect of concealing from public notice the real magnitude of the population of that country. His essay accordingly will

be found to contain much valuable information founded on facts. Those who peruse it will, however, be ready to admit that it leaves many circumstances, necessary to be known, in their former state of obscurity. Indeed the limits which Mr. Bushe appears to have prescribed to his essay, did not admit of its affording that ample and diversified information which alone could have rendered it perfectly satisfactory and permanently useful. His object, as the title of his Essay announces, was merely to ascertain the population of Ireland; not to exhibit its past progress, and furnish materials for rational conjectures respecting its future increase.

In countries, where the increase of people is tardy, much benefit may, for a long time, be derived from ascertaining the population even at one period. But

in those, wherein the increase of people is rapid, all political speculations and measures connected with population must be defective unless the people be frequently enumerated, as in America and other countries; or unless the ordinary ratio of their increase be discovered by other means. In some countries one hundred years make but little difference in the magnitude of their populations; but in other countries, twenty-five years scarcely elapse before a duplication of the people takes place. Mr. Bushe ascertained that there were about four millions of people in Ireland, in the year 1788. But omitting to furnish means whereby to measure the progress of population in that country, subsequently to that year, there are many, especially in this country, who, not being aware of the rapidity with which the people of

Ireland increase, conclude that its population cannot have experienced any great accession in sixteen years; and continue to estimate it at four millions; while others, in that country, observing a great increase of people around them, are unable to form satisfactory conjectures respecting its present magnitude.

Early in the year 1792, a very circumstantial, but not perhaps complete return of houses made by the collectors of hearth-money in the course of the preceding year was laid before the House of Commons of Ireland. From this return, the distinguished author of the consolatory Estimate of the strength of Great Britain, who contemplates with admiration and seeming exultation the rapidity of the increase of people in Ireland, deduces a population of about 4,200,000: and nothing can be more

certain than that Ireland contained, at least, that number of inhabitants in the year 1791. Still, however, the ordinary ratio of the increase of people, in that country, not having been discovered, the actual magnitude of its population is far from being manifest: for, in a country so very favourably circumstanced for a rapid multiplication of people as Ireland has certainly been, thirteen years or less than half the American period of doubling, make a very considerable difference in the number of the inhabitants.

It may be thought, especially by those who have been in the habit of directing their attention to the increase of people in England, that the war, rebellion, and two years of scarcity, which happened since 1791, must have occasioned, in Ireland, a loss of people equal to the number produced by generation since

that year: and, of course, that a computation of the number of people at present, in that country, is altogether unnecessary. But though we were to estimate the loss occasioned by these calamitous events so high as 400,000 souls, which probably will hereafter be considered as much above the truth; and though we were to take seventy-five years, or three times the American period of doubling, as the period of doubling in Ireland, which, with the concurrent aid of every public document, connected either intimately or remotely with its population, can easily be demonstrated to be far above the truth, still we should find the number of people in that country to exceed four millions and a half: which I apprehend is a greater population than it is generally supposed to contain.

Anterior to Mr. Bushe's exhibition of the magnitude of the population of Ireland, Doctor Price was aware of a rapid increase of people in that country; and incidentally endeavoured to account for it. He observes, however, that the returns of houses to which he alludes, those of 1754, 1767 and 1777, were, as he had learnt, of no authority.* He does not distinctly say that he was taught to consider them as exaggerated; but the tenor of the passage in which they appear, leaves little room to doubt that such was the case. And if so, it cannot fail to afford matter of surprise, that a person so eminently conversant in documents of a similar nature, should suffer himself to be thus persuaded; even though he did not know that the returns, to which he alludes, were made by the collectors of

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. p. 203.

hearth-money, who, on making them, became accountable for the amount of the tax on every hearth which they returned; and consequently were much less likely to return a greater than a smaller number of houses than were really in existence. That they did return an infinitely smaller one, was, a few years after, fully demonstrated by Mr. Bushe. But this by the way.

An exaggeration of the number of houses exempt from the hearth-tax could not, with any prospect of belief, have been insisted on by those whom Doctor Price consulted; the number of these houses being, in all the different returns, evidently and confessedly far below the truth. Even in the last and most accurate return which was made, that of the year 1791, the number of houses exempt from the tax was, according to the opinion of

the Inspector-General of hearth-money, greatly short of the truth.

But there are Irish authors, whose works have recently made no slight impression on the public mind, who appear to have disregarded both the facts adduced by Mr. Bushe and the detailed return of 1791 with its implied considerations, and who would have us believe that there are not more than three millions of inhabitants in Ireland; nay that there are not more than two and a half. It is true that the writers alluded to, introduce the population of Ireland as an incidental subject; and almost confine themselves to the maintenance of mere opinions respecting its magnitude. The mere opinions, however, of respectable and influential persons, who might be supposed to possess an extensive knowledge of the political circumstances of Ireland, cannot

fail to have considerable weight. Those persons, therefore, to whom they appear erroneous, must feel this circumstance a very powerful motive to set in its true light a subject of so much importance.

There is yet another consideration which has urged me to undertake this inquiry. I mean the improbability of discovering the magnitude of the population of Ireland by either of those modes to which Government would, in all likelihood, resort in the event of being impressed with the expediency of ascertaining it. The peculiar circumstances of Ireland, with respect to religion, seem to preclude every sanguine hope of attaining any other than very imperfect information through the medium of the clergy. And facts have already evinced such great deficiencies in the collateral returns of tax-gatherers, as to render it

utterly unsafe to rely on them, unless some new project be devised for insuring diligence and accuracy on the part of these officers.

Under the impression of these different considerations, I have endeavoured to prepare myself for assisting in the discovery of the progress and present magnitude of the population of Ireland. And I am not altogether without hopes that the following pages, whatever may be their defects, will conduce to the illustration of these subjects, afford some useful information; and tend to facilitate or abridge the labours of future inquirers, should government decline to order an accurate enumeration of the people of Ireland.

With regard to the mode of proceeding which I have prescribed to myself, it seems necessary to say a few words. In con-

veying our opinions to those whose minds we may have reason to suppose are pre-occupied by opinions of an opposite nature, we naturally resort to an argumentative style. The candid reader therefore will hesitate to impute the use of such a style, throughout the following pages, to a desire, on my part, to magnify the population of Ireland, with a view to the attainment of some ulterior and latent object, connected with the interest of a party. I really have no other object in view than the welfare of a country to which I am naturally and habitually, but not exclusively, attached; a welfare which may be said to constitute a most prominent part of the general welfare of the British Empire, which it is my pride to be instrumental in promoting; and one which moreover obviously involves the individual welfare of those affectionate

kinsmen and sincere friends whose happiness I have infinitely more at heart than the interests of any party whatsoever: and I have yet to learn how magnifying the population of Ireland, or misrepresenting any of the circumstances of that country, can conduce to its welfare. Indeed so deeply am I impressed with a persuasion of such practices having a contrary tendency, and so anxious am I to have the real circumstances of Ireland disclosed, that I shall not forego the present opportunity of soliciting those who may have directed their attention to the subjects of this inquiry, to exhibit and rectify any error into which I may have been ignorantly led.

The quotations with which the following pages will be found interspersed, and which may possibly be deemed superfluous, especially in cases of repetition,

are to be ascribed to a persuasion, on my part, of the expediency of substantiating my opinions on matters which may appear to be of a fundamental nature, by the authoritative opinions of others; and to a further persuasion of the necessity of employing neutral persons to vouch for facts, which, if resting on my single authority, might, perhaps, be doubted in proportion to the aid which they may afford in confirming any disputable or doubtful point. And here it seems proper to apprize the reader, as Mr. Young's account of his tour in Ireland, which I shall frequently have occasion to consult, has gone through many editions, that it is the Dublin octavo edition which lies before me.

Not being in pursuit of literary fame, but merely solicitous to distribute among my fellow-subjects the information which

I have endeavoured to collect, I shall take no pains to introduce into these pages those ornaments or critical niceties of style which embellish and render acceptable the writings of others. And I should hope that the reader will kindly rest satisfied if I write with sufficient perspicuity to prevent any misconception on his part.

THOMAS NEWENHAM.

Ellesmere, Shropshire,
November 3d, 1804.

# *ERRATA.*

Page. Line.

9..... 2 from bottom, after *that* insert *until.*

Ibid..... 1 from bottom, for *last* read *seventeenth.*

35..... 5, for *latter* read *former.*

37..... 3 from bottom, for *subject* read *subjects.*

108..... 6, insert *done* after *been.*

132..... 2 from bottom, for *hug* read *grapple.*

293, note, insert *page* 99.

294, note, insert *page* 276.

317..... 11, for *comparative* read *comparatively.*

A

# *Statistical and Historical Inquiry into the Progress and Magnitude*

OF THE

# POPULATION OF IRELAND.

## SECTION I.

### *Of the Nature and Efficacy of the Causes which accelerate the Increase of People.*

In an inquiry of this nature, effects, rather than causes, are the proper objects of our concern. The ends proposed are merely to discover the progress and to exhibit the magnitude of the population of Ireland. And this being the case, there does not appear to exist any absolute obligation to investigate the various efficient causes to which such progress and magnitude may be ascribed. An investigation of these might, indeed, be considered as superfluous; inasmuch as the concurrence of different documents, of indisputable authenticity, in evincing a rapid increase of people, and the actual existence of a dense population in Ireland, amounts to a decisive proof

of the agency of causes adequate to the production of such effects. An exposition, however, of the principal causes which have apparently operated in augmenting the population of that country, cannot fail to afford considerable satisfaction. And as, with regard to the ordinary occurrences of human life, we are naturally disposed to believe rather that which is probable, though imperfectly attested, than that which is improbable, though amply attested; such exposition, previously to our entering upon the proposed inquiry, will serve to prepare us for the reception of those truths, which will afterwards be found to be sustained by substantial, unequivocal, and, it is presumed, irresistible evidences.

The principal, if not the only causes which conduce to accelerate the multiplication of the human species, are plenty of food, frequency of marriage—. "Wherever the commerce between the sexes," says Archdeacon Paley, "is regulated by marriage, and a provision for that mode of subsistence, to which each class in the community is accustomed, can be procured with ease and certainty, there the number of people will increase; and the rapidity, as well as the extent of the increase, will be proportioned to the degree in which these

causes exist."*—A salubrious climate.—"People," says Sir William Temple, "are multiplied in a country by the temper of the climate, favourable to health, to generation and long life."†—A mild and equitable government.—"If every thing else be equal," says Mr. Hume, "it seems reasonable to expect that where there are the wisest institutions, and the most happiness, there will also be the most people."‡ "Men," says Doctor Adam Ferguson, "will croud where the situation is tempting, and, in a few generations, will people every country to the measure of its means of subsistence. They will even increase under circumstances that portend a decay."§—An increasing demand for labour.—"If," says Doctor Adam Smith, "the demand for labour be continually increasing, the reward of labour must necessarily encourage in such a manner the marriage and multiplication of labourers, as may enable them to supply that continually increasing demand by a continually increasing population."‖

Under the combined operation of these pow-

* Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 485.

† Miscellaneous Works, vol. III. p. 7.

‡ Vol. I. Essay 11. § History of Civil Society, p. 212.

‖ Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations, vol. I. p. 81.

erfully efficient causes of a rapid increase of people, plenty of food, frequency of marriage, a salubrious climate, a mild and equitable government, and an increasing demand for labour, there can be no doubt that population will double in less than twenty years; unless its progress be retarded by plagues or pestilential diseases, by earthquakes or other physical calamities, by wars or by emigrations. Nor is it unreasonable to presume, that the loss of people occasioned by these events, if their recurrence be not frequent or their devastations great, will have but a very inconsiderable effect in protracting the general or average period of doubling, during the continual agency of the causes just mentioned. Archdeacon Paley observes, that, "under circumstances very favourable to subsistence, population has been doubled in twenty years;" and adds, that "the havoc occasioned by wars, earthquakes, famine, or pestilence, is usually repaired in a short time."* The President Montesquieu says, "Lorsqu'un état se trouve depeuplé par des accidens particuliers, des guerres, des pestes, des famines, il y a des ressources. Les hommes qui restent peuvent conserver l'esprit de travail

* Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 484.

et d'industrie; ils peuvent chercher a reparer leur malheurs, et devenir plus industrieux par leur calamité même. Le mal presqu' incurable est lorsque la depopulation vient de longue main par un vice interieur, et un mauvais gouvernement."* Sir James Stewart says, that " no destruction of inhabitants, by expulsion, captivity, war, pestilence, or famine, is so permanently hurtful to population as a revolution in that spirit which is necessary for the increase and support of numbers. Let that spirit be kept up, and let mankind be well governed, numbers will quickly rise to their former standard, after the greatest reduction possible."† A late writer, of very considerable abilities and erudition, (Mr. Malthus,) thinks it evident, that the tendency of population to increase is more than sufficient to double it in twenty-five years.‡ Doctor Adam Smith incidentally remarks, that, " in the British colonies, in North America, the people double in twenty or five and twenty years. Nor is this owing," says he,

* L'Esprit des Loix, tom. III. chap. 28.

† Political Economy, vol. I. p. 118.

‡ This opinion of Mr. Malthus was taken from a critique which appeared in the Literary Journal, on his Essay on the principle of population: a most valuable work, which unfortunately did not fall into my hands, until after the printing of these pages had commenced.

" in the present times, to the importation of new inhabitants, but to the great multiplication of the species.* Doctor Price tells us, that, " the original number of persons who settled in New England, in 1643, was 21,200: that ever since it is reckoned *that more have left them than have gone to them:* that, in the year 1760, they were increased to half a million: and that they had therefore all along doubled their number in twenty-five years. That in 1738, the number of the inhabitants in New Jersey was taken by order of the government, and found to be 47,369: that seven years afterwards the number of inhabitants was again taken, and found to be increased, by procreation only, above 14,000: that in twenty-two years therefore they must have doubled their numbers. That there was a much quicker increase of people in Rhode Island. And that, in the back settlements, where the people apply themselves entirely to agriculture, and luxury is not known, they double their own number in *fifteen* years."† Sir William Petty admits the possibility of a duplication of people happening even in *ten* years.‡

* Wealth of Nations, vol. I. p. 71.

† Observations on Reversionary Payments, v. II. p. 49, 50.

‡ Political Arithmetic, p. 105.

## SECTION II.

*Of the Causes which appear to have operated in augmenting the Population of Ireland during the last Century.*

ANTERIOR to the last century, the circumstances of Ireland were very far from being equally and uniformly auspicious to a rapid increase of people. On the contrary, they seem to have been, for the most part, signally obstructive of the progress of population. Sir William Temple and Sir William Petty concur in informing us that provisions abounded in that country towards the close of the seventeenth century. But the latter tells us likewise, that after the devastating war, which began with the massacre of 1641, and lasted eleven years, the stock and cattle of Ireland, which, in that year, were worth about four millions sterling, were, in the year 1652, not worth *five hundred thousand:* that the inhabitants of Dublin were under the necessity of importing provisions from Wales! that corn which sold

for less than twelve shillings the barrel, in 1641, sold for fifty shillings in 1652: events which must have grievously affected the inferior orders of the people who did not then, as now, subsist wholly on potatoes throughout the year;—and that by that war, and the plague and famine which accompanied it, the population of Ireland sustained a loss of *six hundred and eighty-nine thousand souls.** We learn from other authorities, that, notwithstanding the great natural fertility of that island, years of scarcity, amounting to famine, and chiefly attributable to moral causes, did frequently occur; that hundreds of thousands were periodically swept off by the plague; and that successive multitudes fell by the sword. "The want of trade in Ireland, said Sir William Temple in 1673, proceeds from the want of people; and this is not grown from any ill qualities of the climate or air, but chiefly from the frequent revolutions of so many wars and rebellions, so great slaughters and calamities of mankind, as have at several intervals of time succeeded the first conquest of this kingdom, in Henry the second's time, until the year 1653. Two very great plagues followed the two great wars,

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 314, 15.

those of Queen Elizabeth's reign and the last; which helped to drain the current stream of generation in the country."* "Had it not been for the numbers of British which the necessity of the late war at first drew over, and of such who, either as adventurers or soldiers, seated themselves here upon account of the satisfaction made to them in land, the country had by the last war and plague been left in a manner *desolate*."† In ancient times, if indeed we are to believe some of the historians of Ireland, that country exhibited an almost uninterrupted scene of carnage. They tell us that of eighty-nine kings from Heremon, thirty-one were killed in battle, and twenty-one were murdered; and that from the reign of Slannell to that of Kimbath, a period of 263 years, all the kings were slain. But whatever might have *really* been the case, in times whereof the events are involved in impenetrable obscurity, we know that the records of the authentic history of Ireland furnish abundant matter calculated to give sufficient countenance to fictions of this nature.

We know likewise, that long after the beginning of the last century, the internal political

* Miscel. Works, Vol. III. p. 7. † Ibid.

circumstances of that country were, upon the whole, for a vast series of years, singularly unfavourable to population. We have sufficient reason for being persuaded, that during ages of turbulence, insecurity, and rapine, when subsistence was precarious and children burthensome, marriages were much less frequent than under the happier circumstances of the eighteenth century. And it is certain that the former salubrity of the climate of Ireland, however great, could not have equalled that by which it is at present distinguished. In short, we find ourselves authorised to affirm, that, anterior to the last century, the causes of a rapid increase of people did seldom, if ever, conjointly operate in Ireland; and that the effects which some of them might, at intervals, have produced, were always, soon afterwards, completely defeated by the recurrent agency of causes of a depopulating nature.

But during almost the whole of that century, beyond which it seems altogether unnecessary to extend our researches, we are enabled to say, that, with very little intermission, plenty of food and frequency of marriage, powerfully seconded by a climate highly salubrious, did, in an eminent manner, conduce to multiply the people of Ireland; and that their effects were

frustrated neither by plagues, pestilential diseases, famines, physical calamities of any description, nor, in any considerable, degree by wars. And hence, as plenty of food, frequency of marriage, and a salubrious climate, are unquestionably the principal causes of a rapid multiplication of people, we might infer, *a priori*, the actual existence of a dense population in that country. That such is, in fact, the case, although certain adverse circumstances, which shall be hereafter noticed, continued, until near the close of the century, to defeat, in a conspicuous degree, the operation of the causes just mentioned, will, I have no doubt, be sufficiently manifest in the course of the succeeding pages.—

A salubrious climate appears to have been considered by some writers on the subject of population, rather as a subordinate, than as a principal cause of the increase of people. I am persuaded, however, that it is a cause of superior efficacy; and I find this persuasion supported by the incidental opinions of Sir William Temple, M. Montesquieu, Dr. Price, and other writers of less celebrity; and also by considerations grounded on facts. It is true, that there exists an accommodating quality in the human constitution, which renders the natives of an

insalubrious country much less susceptible than foreigners of those diseases which the peculiar qualities of its climate tend to originate. But it is equally true, that, owing to superior salubrity of climate, longevity is much more frequent in some countries than in others; greater numbers reach the age of manhood; a greater proportion of people enjoy uniform good health; the procreative power lasts longer; and marriages are more prolific: circumstances which must obviously prove signally efficacious in augmenting the population of a country. The different tables and registers of mortality resorted to by Dr. Price, in his Observations on Reversionary Payments, demonstrate a very great difference in the local proportion of annual deaths to the existing numbers of people. The Tables of Mr. Muret evince, notwithstanding the accommodating quality of the human constitution, an astonishing difference in the probability of life in a hilly and in a marshy district: or we may say in districts where the atmosphere of one is salubrious, and that of the other the reverse. In the hilly district, it was found that half of the whole numbers born lived to the age of 47: in the marshy district only to the age of 25. In the former, one in 20 of all that were born lived to the

age of 80: in the latter, only one in 52 reached that age.* Other tables furnish sufficient evidences of a very considerable difference in the average produce of children by marriage in different countries. "Healthfulness and prolificness," says Dr. Price, "are probably causes of increase seldom separated."† These, together with longevity, are, generally speaking, occasioned rather by salubrity of climate than by other causes. And as these circumstances do evidently tend, in the strongest manner, to accelerate the increase of people, we cannot decline to consider an highly salubrious climate as a most efficacious cause of a rapid multiplication of people. But it seems unnecessary to dwell any longer on this subject.

—The plenty of food which the inferior orders of the Irish people appear to have enjoyed, almost uniformly, since the beginning of the last century, is to be ascribed, partly to the excess of their peculiar food, (potatoes,) in point of quantity, relatively to a given measure of land, beyond any other article of food generally cultivated in Europe, and partly to the prevailing customs of their country. "So far,"

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, vol. II. p. 242.

† Ibid. p. 42.

says Archdeacon Paley, "as the state of population is governed and limited by the quantity of provision, perhaps there is no single cause that affects it so powerfully as the kind and quality of the food which chance or usage hath introduced into a country."* Much less than one fourth part of that extent of land which is requisite, according to the common mode of tillage, to furnish a sufficient supply of wheat for the maintenance of a poor man's family consisting of eight persons, will yield as much potatoes as a family equally numerous can consume in the same space of time. "The average produce of all Ireland," says the intelligent Mr. Arthur Young, (of whose useful labours I shall take the liberty to avail myself frequently in the course of the following pages) "being, per acre plantation measure, eighty-two barrels of potatoes, each barrel weighing two hundred and eighty pounds, one acre does rather more than support eight persons the year through."—I apprehend that, with proper economy, which in the article of food has notoriously never been practised in Ireland, the potatoes produced by one plantation acre of good or well manured and well managed land, might

* Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 491.

be rendered adequate to the maintenance of a much greater number: but more on this subject hereafter.—"To feed on wheat those eight persons," continues Mr. Young, "would require eight quarters, or two Irish acres, which at present imply two more for fallow, or four in all."* This comparatively small quantity of land (one acre) has hitherto, throughout most parts of Ireland, been easily obtainable, in lieu of wages, by almost all descriptions of operative people resident in the country: the cultivation of the potatoe being in most cases serviceable, in none injurious, to the land. In some parts of Ireland, owing to the density of population, and to certain local practices, and other circumstances which I need not stop to explain, the supernumerary labourers, or those whose services are only occasionally required by different persons, have, especially of late, found it extremely difficult to obtain, even at an exorbitant rent, a sufficient quantity of land for raising the requisite supply of potatoes for their families. But this circumstance, though it must have had the effect of increasing the number of competitors in the market, does not appear to have had that of raising the price of

* Tour through Ireland, vol. II. part II. p. 34.

potatoes so far above the reach of the unaccommodated labouring poor, if constantly employed, as to induce the necessity of scanty meals: for before the year 1799, the price of potatoes, on an average, in seven-eighth parts of Ireland, did very seldom exceed two-pence the stone. In the provinces of Munster and Connaught, they were generally purchasable for less. It is not forty years since the price of that article of food, in the former province, was so low as three halfpence for 21 lbs; nor more than fifteen years since that quantity was sold for two-pence.—The small farmers, who are very numerous in Ireland, the country artificers, and the agricultural labourers, or *cottier-tenants*, besides persons of other descriptions, have, for the most part been, in the habit of cultivating not merely a sufficiency for their respective families, but also a surplus for market. The poorest cottiers have generally raised, over and above an ample supply for their families, enough to fatten or rear two or three pigs, besides poultry; and always enough to enable them to exercise their characteristic hospitality to the vagrant stranger or more indigent neighbour. Thus a redundancy of that simple but wholesome food, to the growth of which the climate of Ireland is peculiarly favourable, has almost

uniformly been secured. And as no expedient has as yet been discovered for preserving potatoes longer than a year, the effects of monopoly or artificial scarcity have never been experienced. In the year 1801, after two years of unprecedented scarcity, the price of potatoes fell, in most parts of Ireland, nearly twice as much as those of wheat and oats. "If any one doubts," says Mr. Young, "the comparative plenty which attends the board of a poor native of England and Ireland, let him attend to their meals: the sparingness with which our labourer eats his bread and cheese is well known: mark the Irishman's potatoe bowl placed on the floor, the whole family on their hams around it devouring a quantity almost incredible: the beggar seating himself to it with a hearty welcome, the pig taking his share as readily as the wife, the cocks, hens, turkies, geese, the cur, the cat, and perhaps the cow—and all partaking of the same dish. No man can have often been a witness of it without being convinced of the plenty, and, I will add, the chearfulness that attends it."*

With regard to the wholesomeness of the potatoe, the same gentleman says, "When I

* Tour, vol. II. part II. p. 33.

see the people of a country, in spite of political oppression, with well-formed vigorous bodies, and their cottages *swarming with children*; when I see their men athletic and their women beautiful, I know not how to believe them subsisting on unwholesome food."* To the same effect is the following remark of Dr. Adam Smith: "The common people in Scotland who are fed with oatmeal, are in general neither so strong nor so handsome as the same rank of people in England who are fed with wheaten bread. But it seems to be otherwise with potatoes. The chairmen, porters, and coal-heavers, in London, and those unfortunate women, who live by prostitution, the strongest men, and the most beautiful women perhaps in the British dominions, are said to be, the greater part of them, from the lowest rank of people in Ireland, who are generally fed with this root. No food can afford a more decisive proof of its nourishing quality, and of its being peculiarly suitable to the health of the human constitution."†

That extraordinary frequency of marriage among the people of Ireland, which has so often been remarked by strangers, seems to

* Tour, Vol. II. Part II. p. 33.

† Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 165.

have been chiefly owing to the following circumstance. First, in consequence of an abundance of food, the maintenance of children in Ireland has hitherto been attended with little or no expence: a consideration of great efficacy in prompting to matrimony.* Secondly, the

* I insert the following extract from a letter written by an intelligent and respectable clergyman, not so much on account of its assistance in conveying an idea of the facility ith which children have been reared in Ireland, as on that of its tendency to throw some additional light on the circumstances of the Irish poor. " Among the various modes of industry to which the poor people in this and one or two of the adjacent parishes resort, that of nursing and rearing *Parisheens* seems not unworthy of particular attention. *Parisheens* is the vulgar appellation given to the foundling infants, sent down every year from Dublin, in large cargoes, to be wet and dry-nursed, fed, and cloathed, at the rate, (until within these last four years) of forty shillings a year for each child, and three pounds for the last year; unless the nurse wishes to retain the child, which she is *frequently induced to do*. In this case, the last year's wages are forfeited. The nurses are moreover obliged to take the children to Dublin (distant about forty miles) once every year, in order to obtain their salaries. Each of these wretched women has an infant of her own at the breast, at the same time, with one or *two* of these *Parisheens*. There are between sixty and seventy of these little ill-fated beings in this parish. Within the last four years, the salary for the foregoing purposes, has been raised from forty shillings to five pounds for the first year, and three pounds for every

small farmers, the country artificers, and agricultural labourers, have generally derived from their children the most important advantages; infinitely more than sufficient to indemnify them for the trivial expence of their support. The first usually acquire the means of paying their rents, partly by tilling the lands of their more opulent neighbours, and partly by the cultivation of their own. Of course, their solvency is always justly measured by the number of working hands in their families. The second either consign to such of their children as are capable of working, the digging, planting, and manuring of their potatoe grounds, while they themselves are more profitably employed; or teach them their respective trades, and thus ultimately augment their incomes, and provide against the contingency of sickness and the disability of age. The last are enabled by the labour of their children reared, I might almost say without expence, to pay the rents of their *cabins* and gardens without difficulty; and frequently thereby encouraged to venture upon the business of a farm: four stout labourers in a family being esteemed, in Ireland, equivalent

succeeding year, till the child be returned at the age of *nine*. The most eager solicitations are made to obtain the nursing of these children."

to a considerable capital. In these three cases self-interest seems to act as an additional *stimulus* to matrimony. "The value of children is," as Dr. Smith remarks, "the greatest of all encouragements to marriage."* Alluding to the lower orders of people in Ireland, Mr. Bushe says, "they are almost all married; and there are few instances of their not having children. They generally marry young; and potatoes being their food, they are under no apprehension of being unable to support their children. Their children are their wealth."† Thirdly, the inferior classes of the country people in Ireland have always been accustomed to reconcile themselves to various privations; to dispense with the far greater part of those articles which the same class, in other countries, but especially in England, reckon among the *necessaries of life*; to consider the acquisition of any thing in the shape of a capital as perfectly unnecessary to the state of wedlock;—indeed whatever money they happen to have is generally expended in feasting their neighbours on the wedding night—and to rely on their bodily labour alone for the maintenance, clothing, housing,

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 72.

† Essay towards ascertaining the Population of Ireland. Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. III.

and accommodation of their families, when they find it expedient to quit their paternal roofs: an event which is not very generally in Ireland the immediate consequence of marriage. These habits, to which, by the way, those of the middle class have borne a qualified resemblance, must necessarily have proved eminently efficacious in accelerating the increase of people in Ireland. "Partout," says M. Montesquieu, "ou il se trouve une place ou deux personnes peuvent vivre commodément, il se fait un marriage. La nature y porte assez, lorsqu'elle n'est point arretée par la difficulté de subsistence."* The poor Irish, as we have seen, have had no reason to be deterred by the prospect of an insufficiency of food from yielding to the dictates of nature. And Mr. Young will shew us that they have not been very fastidious with regard to other matters. "The cottages of the Irish," says that gentleman, "are the most miserable hovels that can be conceived. They generally consist of only one room. Mud, kneaded with straw, is the common material of the walls. These are rarely above seven feet high; and not always above five or six. They are about two feet thick;

* L'esprit des loix. Tom. III. Ch. X.

and have only a door which lets in light instead of a window; and should let the smoke out instead of a chimney, but they had rather keep it in: these two conveniences they hold so cheap that I have seen them both stopped up in stone cottages built by improving landlords. The furniture of the cabin is as bad as the architecture; in very many consisting only of a pot for boiling their potatoes, a bit of a table and one or two broken stools. Beds are not found universally: the family lying on straw equally partook of by cows, calves, and pigs."* Fourthly, there have been no such impediments to marriage in Ireland as are the poor laws and law of settlements in this country; nor indeed any political obstacle whatsoever. "In my rides about Mitchelstown, says the gentleman last quoted, I have passed places on the road one day without any appearance of a habitation; and next morning found a hovel, filled with a man and woman, six or eight children and a pig. A wandering family will fix themselves under a dry bank; and with a few sticks, furze, fern, &c. make up a hovel, much worse than an English pig-sty; and support themselves, how they can, by work, begging, and stealing."† "Les gens, says M.

* Tour, Vol. II. Part II. p. 36. † Ibid, p. 29.

Montesquieu, qui n'ont absolument rien, comme les mendians, ont beaucoup d'enfans. C'est qu'ils sonts dans le cas des peuples naissans: il n'en coute rien au pere, pour donner son art a ses enfans, qui même sont en naissant des instruments de cet art."* Fifthly, the scanty, inadequate, fluctuating, and unsuitable incomes of the laborious clergy of the church of Rome, which has always included within its pale a vast proportion of the Irish community, having, ever since the final overthrow of King James the Second, been derived solely from marriages, christenings, and confessions, it is but natural to presume, that a considerable number of them have always been practically solicitous to promote matrimony, under the united influence of secular and spiritual motives.† No clergy, it

* L'esprit des loix, Tom. III. Ch II.

† A little pamphlet of considerable merit, the object whereof is to improve the present pecuniary condition of the Roman Catholic Clergy of Ireland, has lately fallen under my observation; it is entitled, "*A Letter containing some loose hints on the means and the expediency of providing an establishment for the Roman Catholic Clergy in Ireland;*" and is said to have been written, a few years ago, by an Irish Roman Catholic lawyer, eminently conversant in the political concerns of Ireland, and whose literary talents, enlarged views, liberal and patriotic sentiments, appear to have attracted the esteem and respect of his countrymen;

is true, seem to be more generally governed by considerations purely religious: none can possibly be more scrupulously assiduous in the dis-

and to have given him a great and deserved influence among the principal persons of his religious persuasion. The arguments which he employs, and the suggestions which accompany them, appear extremely worthy of early and serious attention on the part of government. The different provisions, however, which he pleads for, are not, in my opinion, equally well devised. Those for the parochial clergy of his communion, are not, perhaps, inadequate to their exigencies. But those for the Episcopal Dignitaries, cannot fail to appear altogether unsuitable, when the nature and effects of a hierarchy are duly considered. Besides, they are certainly far beneath that ample remuneration to which their late conduct, viewed in either a moral or political light, has confessedly entitled them. Under a pure sense of duty, evidently unconnected with any of those private or personal considerations which are generally found to be the most energetic, though least ostensible, principles of action, we have seen the most distinguished among them spontaneously exercise, in the cause of loyalty, both their eloquence and their influence with alacrity and with effect. A large majority of their generous Protestant countrymen, who know how to appreciate their services, will, I am persuaded, concur with me in thinking, that salaries of £200 or 300 a year fall much short of their deserts. And if his Majesty's Ministers will consider that the exertions of these Bishops, in support of the throne, have probably superseded the necessity of sending to Ireland an additional force of 20,000 men; and that, by the same means, a similar necessity may frequently be superseded hereafter; they must be satisfied of

charge of all the various pastoral duties: none, confessedly, can with less reason be reproached for avarice, though in none surely could avarice be with less difficulty defended. We are, how-

its being perfectly compatible, or rather strictly consonant with a system of rigid economy, to make more liberal provisions for them than those which their sagacious intercessor has modestly suggested.

The conduct of several of the Roman Catholic clergy, during the late atrocious rebellion, tended unfortunately to bring the whole of that respectable body into disrepute among those whose judgments were precipitated by the vexatious circumstances of the times. The Roman Catholic clergy themselves will, no doubt with sorrow and shame, readily admit that several inferior persons of their order were conspicuously active in furthering the rebellion: a rebellion whereof the various woeful effects are still, and I fear will long be felt in a greater or less degree, by almost every inhabitant of Ireland: a rebellion which effectually, but we trust not irremediably, blasted the growing prosperity of that country, entailed upon it an immense and exhausting debt; lengthened the long list of its absentees; occasioned a ruinous effluxion of its wealth; and, worse than all, rekindled among its inhabitants that religious animosity, which had ever been the primary cause of all its peculiar political infelicity. We are, however, called on in justice to bring to public recollection that, while these men thus rendered themselves objects of our utmost execration, many of their fraternity rendered themselves, by their dauntless loyalty and humanity, objects of our high admiration and unbounded applause. And we are further called on to keep alive the remembrance of this fact, that most of the former

ever, warranted in suspecting, that, in all great bodies of men, of every profession, and under

had been previously silenced and disgraced for immoral conduct by their superiors.

Human ingenuity would no doubt be most abominably prostituted if employed in palliating the conduct, or extenuating the guilt of any of the instigators of the late sanguinary rebellion: and I question if it be not, in some degree, repugnant to true principles of patriotism and loyalty, to urge any thing, at least beyond the confines of a court of justice, in behalf even of those who were merely involved in that rebellion, without perpetrating, or promoting any of its peculiar atrocities. If however we ventured to select any description of persons, whose conduct was thus limited, as proper objects of pity and mercy, we should, I apprehend, feel the least reluctance in selecting the clerical rebels of the Romish communion, considering that the clergy of that communion are entirely dependant on their parishioners, not only for support, but for every kind office of which they may occasionally stand in need; that they have not uniformly been treated with indulgence by their more powerful and opulent Protestant neighbours; that they have too frequently been regarded by them as objects of suspicion; and that, in few instances only, they have been permitted to engage with them in familiar and friendly intercourse: considering in short that these clergymen have experienced peculiar difficulties and discouragements; and that, in fact, they have generally been to a certain degree, under a sort of moral constraint to act upon the prevailing principles of their parishioners; a situation from which it is to be earnestly hoped they will speedily be rescued by the munificence of government and the liberality and kindness of their protestant neighbours.

every combination of circumstances, there will ever be found a large proportion acting as frequently in subservience to worldly interests as to those of a more exalted nature. But whatever may be the case with the present Roman Catholic clergy of Ireland, or whatever might have been the case with their immediate predecessors, there can be no doubt that those persons who entered into holy orders in King James's time, with an indirect view to emolument, or who were taught to expect it, were effectually urged by disappointment to employ their vast influence in multiplying the sources of their scanty succedaneous revenues. And frequency of marriage once introduced, and subsequently facilitated by the peculiar habits of the people, and the circumstances of the country, must naturally have continued to prevail.

The climate of Ireland has gradually undergone, since about the middle of the seventeenth century, a very considerable change for the better; and may now be safely ranked among the most salubrious in the world. The thick woods which covered the greater part of that country, and necessarily affected the salubrity of its climate, by impeding the current of the air, and retaining the moisture wafted by the

westerly winds from the Atlantic ocean, have ceased to exist; and the deep rich soil, which pervades it in various directions, is no longer undrained or in a state of nature.

The turf bogs of Ireland, which have been hastily accounted unfavourable to health, have experienced a very great, and many of the inhabitants will be disposed to add, a very lamentable diminution since the commencement of the last century. Were they, however, as extensive as formerly, they would by no means impair the salubrity of its climate. Turf bogs have often been improperly confounded with marshes and fens, from which in their effects they are specifically different, as those who live in the neighbourhood of either can testify. The latter emit putrid miasmata (a fact however which the ingenious Mr. William Currie disputes,*) and consequently generate diseases. The former contain no substance whatsoever in an actual state of putrescence. On the contrary, they are found to possess qualities of an antiseptic nature.—Sir William Petty tells us, that in his time the country people preserved

* See his inquiry into the causes of the insalubrity of marshy situations, published among the transactions of the American Philosophical Society.

their eggs and butter in them.*—And it is well known that the inhabitants of those counties, which surround and comprise the great bog of Allen, are as free from peculiar distempers, enjoy as vigorous constitutions, are as long-lived, and at least as well formed for strength and agility as any of the other inhabitants of Ireland.

The effects of the moisture of the atmosphere of Ireland, between which, by the way, and that of the atmosphere of England, the difference is inconsiderable, seem to be completely counteracted by some other physical cause; perhaps by an extraordinary proportion of oxygen, of the existence of which there can be little doubt; or probably, according to the opinion of the Reverend Mr. Hamilton,† by the great agitation of the air in that country. That the air is really much more agitated in Ireland than in this country has been ascertained by many observations made in both. Sir W. Petty appears to have been one of the first who took particular notice of the fact. He says, that in the month of October 1663, the rain which fell in Dublin, compared with that which fell

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 355.

† Memoir on the climate of Ireland, published among the Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy.

in London was as 20 to 19; but that the windiness of the same month at Dublin was 20 and at London only 17.* But be the counteracting cause what it may, it is certain, that lax and phlegmatic constitutions, the ordinary effects of a humid atmosphere, are extremely rare in Ireland; and that agues and dropsies, attributable chiefly to the same cause, are much less common in that country than in others.

"Heat or cold in extremes," says Mr. Hamilton, "dry air in rapid motion, or moist air in a stagnant state, seem to be the principal external sources of human diseases; and climates are generally found favourable to health and longevity in proportion as they are free from these external causes of disorder and decay."

It ought therefore to be inferred, *a priori*, that Ireland, celebrated for the singular equability of its temperature, and the ceaseless motion of an atmosphere always influenced by the moisture of the Atlantic, should be likewise characteristically free from natural disease; and experience proves that this conclusion is true. The exhausting agues of North America, or of the fens of England; the fatal fluxes which

* Political Anatomy, p. 333.

prevail in the low countries of the continent of Europe; the dreadful bilious distempers of both the Indies; the pestilence which desolates the African and Asiatic climates, are all either entirely unknown or but feebly felt in Ireland. There is here no characteristic disease to mark a natural source of unhealthiness. There are few disorders which cannot be directly traced up to some artificial cause; to some intemperance, to some neglect, or to some excess either of luxury or penury in the suffering subject."

The very extraordinary equability and mildness of the climate of Ireland were celebrated even in remote times, when the causes of such equability and mildness could not, in consequence of the uncultivated state of the country, have operated so efficaciously as during the last century. "*Terra terrarum temperatissima,* (says Cambrensis,) *nec Cancri calor exæstuans compellit ad umbras, nec ad focos Capricorni rigor invitat, aeris amœnitate temperie-que tempora fere cuncta tepescunt.*"* People in health are very seldom compelled, by either the cold of the winter, or the heat of the summer, to make any alteration in their clothing. "Hi-

* Topographia Hibernia, cap. 25.

bernia *autem*," says Bede, "*salubritate ac serenitate aerum multum* Britanniæ *præstat.*"*

It may also be observed, that those epidemic diseases, which appear to be wafted from insalubrious climates by the easterly winds, and which are often very severely felt in this country, lose much of their virulence on approaching the shores of Ireland.

But perhaps we have dwelt too long on the subject of the climate of that country, its extraordinary salubrity being most amply and satisfactorily evinced by these facts, which fall under general observation: the vigour, the animation, and longevity of the natives, and their utter exemption from all the diseases, debilities, and personal deformities occasioned, in other countries, by intense heat, intense cold, excessive moisture, impure water, vitiated air, or other morbific causes of an endemial nature.

* Ecclesiastical History, lib. I. cap. 1.

## SECTION III.

*Of the Circumstances which have tended to frustrate, in a considerable Degree, the agency of the Causes of a rapid Multiplication of People in Ireland.*

THE principal causes then of a rapid multiplication of the human species—plenty of food, frequency of marriage, and an highly salubrious climate, having operated throughout the last century in Ireland, a country utterly exempt, during that long period of time, from the depopulating effects of every species of physical calamity, and in a very great degree from those of war, there can be little doubt that had these eminently effective causes been seconded by a mild and equitable government, and an increasing demand for labour, had they not been, in a signal manner, frustrated by a perpetual efflux of people, that country, "maintaining as it did," to use the words of Archdeacon Paley, "a considerable degree of population, under great defects of police, industry and com-

merce,"* would, long since, have been as populous as either Holland or China: for with regard to that most essential article, food, it had a decided advantage over both; and with regard to climate also, over the latter. "Quelquefois," says M. Montesquieu, "le climat est plus favorable que le terrein; le peuple s'y multiplie, et les famines les detruisent: c'est le cas où se trouve la Chine."† In Ireland, abundance of food appears to have been a most potent auxiliary of a climate transcendently favourable to generation and longevity.

But while, on the one hand, multitudes were annually brought into existence by the agency of the causes which we have just been considering, thousands were, on the other hand, annually severed from the population of Ireland by the operation of causes of a most depopulating nature.

During about three-fourths of the last century, the Roman catholics, constituting the great majority of the Irish people, were exposed to all the various mischiefs of a rigorous vindictive government, generally much more prone to abet, or at least to tolerate or connive at, than prompt to restrain the diversified out-

* Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 488.

† L'Esprit des Loix, tom. III. c. 16.

rages and vexations of subordinate tyrants: a government acting almost uniformly towards the great bod, of its subjects on the destructive and dangerous principles of irritation, instead of the salutary principles of conciliation. The penal laws which affected the Roman catholics of Ireland formed as oppressive and as impolitic a code as ever continued twenty years unabrogated in the most miserable nation that ever had existence: "*a code*," to use the words of the late Earl of Clare, "*highly injurious to the landed interest of Ireland; and inevitably diminishing the value of every man's estate who voted for it.*"* A code whereof several of the sad effects are not as yet so entirely obliterated as to escape the observation of the attentive and dispassionate moralist or politician; but one which a spirit of patriotism now urges the descendants of the sufferers to forgive and forget, while reflection teaches those of the punishers to lament.

How far this revengeful code tended, in conjunction with other circumstances, to frustrate the operation of the principal causes of a rapid multiplication of people, we shall hereafter see. And if we find, that the efficacy of these causes

* Speech in the House of Lords, 13th March 1793.

was such as to occasion a very considerable increase of people in Ireland, during the existence of this depopulating code and its concomitant circumstances of a similar nature, we shall have but little ground for surprise at the uncommon rapidity with which the population of Ireland has increased since its total repeal and their complete removal.

During near three-fourths of the last century, the trade of Ireland was illiberally and unwisely shackled; its manufactures were very few, and, with the solitary exception of the linen, insignificant and languishing. One restraint succeeded another; and the utmost vigilance appears to have been employed in order to prevent that country from enjoying the benefits of trade. The spirit of commercial jealousy operated without control. It proved ruinous to Ireland, and eventually detrimental to this country, which it appeared to favour at the expence of that. The greatest political writers about the time of the revolution suffered themselves to be influenced by it. The legislature yielded to its dictates. Doctor Davenant, whose ideas on the subject of commerce and government, were just, liberal, and comprehensive, appears to have submitted, in the case

of Ireland, to the spirit which dominated in his time.

" That the people of Ireland, says he, should increase, that their land should be drained and meliorated, that they should have trade and grow wealthy by it, may not, peradventure, be dangerous to England; for it is granted that their riches will center at last here in their mother country.

" And colonies that enjoy not only protection, but who are at their ease, and flourish, will, in all likelihood, be less inclinable to innovate, or to receive a foreign yoke, than if they are harassed and compelled to poverty, through the hard usage of the people from whom they are derived.

" It seems therefore a point of the highest wisdom to give the planters of Ireland all encouragements that can possibly consist with the welfare of England; for it is an outwork to the seat of Empire here; if it should be gained by any neighbouring power, the sum of affairs would be put in danger. It is to be preserved but by a numerous army or by its own proper strength. How far the first way may effect our liberties is not difficult to determine; it follows then that the safest course must be to

let them thrive by husbandry and *some trade.*" —" Ever since Ireland did improve, it can be made appear England has had no small proportion of its gains."*

With these sentiments, however, which were comparatively free from the influence of the prevailing spirit of commercial jealousy, the Inspector General's conduct and writings did not long continue to correspond. He tells us that a bill had passed the House of Commons, and was committed in the House of Lords, for prohibiting the exportation of the woollen manufactures of Ireland to foreign parts: that he had inclined to the milder side, being indeed, in *his judgment,* against prohibitions, because most of such as came within his observation seemed to have been pushed on (without doors) rather for private ends, and to serve some particular turn, than calculated to produce any public benefit.

But that having now more maturely considered this nice controversy, he began to lean to their opinion who thought such a bill necessary.†

The Inspector-General did not stop here;— for when it was in contemplation to set up the linen manufacture in Ireland, as a compensation

* Political and Commercial Works, Vol. II. p. 237.

† Ibid. Vol. II. p. 239.

for the loss of the woollen, he opposed the plan on different grounds, concluding with saying, that, " it ought to be carefully examined whether or no a better expedient might not be thought on to stop the progress of the Irish in the new draperies than to introduce the linen manufacture into Ireland? and whether it would not be best for both kingdoms to take off the prohibition upon Irish cattle?" " It is true," says he, " the breeding counties will be thereby somewhat hurt, but it will encourage improvements and melioration of barren land, in order to feed, which will be advantageous to the whole public of the nation. It will divert those of Ireland from thinking to extend their trade too much abroad; *a point not to be slighted.* And it will in a manner confine the principal part of their dealings to this kingdom; which for many reasons of state will be best and safest for England."*

Sir William Temple, in his letter on the advancement of trade in Ireland, written, in 1673, to the Earl of Essex, the then Lord Lieutenant of that country, says, " regard must be had to those points wherein the trade of Ireland comes to interfere with any main branches of the

* Political and Commercial Works, Vol. II. p. 257.

trade of England: in which cases the encouragement of such trade ought to be either declined or moderated, and so give way to the interest of trade in England."* Speaking of the wool of Ireland, he says, " the improvement of this commodity by manufactures in this kingdom would give so great a damp to the trade of England, that it seems not fit to be encouraged here."†

Such were the sentiments of eminent political writers and persons of considerable influence in the councils of England: And the different acts relative to the trade of Ireland fully evince the ascendancy which a spirit of commercial jealousy had acquired in the legislature of the former country. By one act, the exportation of woollen manufactures to England was prohibited. By another, the exportation of fullers' earth to Ireland was prohibited, in order to throw a damp on the woollen manufactures there. By another, the exportation of wool from Ireland to England was restrained: an act, which, as Sir Matthew Decker observed, proved in the end infinitely serviceable to the woollen manufactures of France. By others, the exportation of wool and woollen

* Miscellaneous Works, Vol. III. p. 13. † Ibid.

manufactures from Ireland to any part of the world was obstructed. By another, the exportation of cattle to England was prohibited: an act, which as Sir William Temple predicted, gave rise to the beef trade of Ireland; which it was not then in the contemplation of the British legislature to encourage. By another, a direct trade to the British plantations was prohibited: a trade for which Ireland is singularly well circumstanced, her vessels, as Lord Sheffield remarks, often crossing the Atlantic in a shorter time than the ships of London require to clear the channel. Duties of various natures, embargos, &c. &c. all in compliance with the paralysing spirit of commercial jealousy which prevailed, operated, in conjunction with these statutes, to confine the trade of Ireland within the narrowest limits: to preclude the establishment, or at least effectually to check the growth of manufactures in that unfortunate country.

Thus circumstanced, during near three-fourths of the last century, was the trade of Ireland: the trade of a country, confessedly, endowed with every physical requisite and advantage for foreign and domestic commerce; qualified, in the opinion of the sagacious Sir William Temple, to be one of the richest

countries in Europe. " These circumstances," says he, " (political ones) so prejudicial to the increase of trade and riches in a country, seem natural, or at least to have ever been incident to the government here; and without them, the native fertility of the soil and seas in so many rich commodities, improved by a multitude of people and industry, with the advantage of so many excellent havens, and a situation so commodious for all foreign trade, must needs have rendered this kingdom one of the richest in Europe, and made a mighty increase both of strength and revenue to the crown of England."* Thus circumstanced was the trade of a country, of which the intelligent Mr. Browne speaks in the following manner; " Ireland is, in respect to its situation, the number of its commodious harbours, and the natural wealth which it produces, the fittest island to acquire riches of any in the European seas; for, as by its situation it lies the most commodious for the West-Indies, Spain, and the northern and east countries, so it is not only supplied by nature with all the necessaries of life, but can over and above export large quantities to foreign countries, insomuch that had

* Miscellaneous Works, Vol. III. p. 8.

it been mistress of a free trade, no nation in Europe of its extent could in an equal number of years acquire greater wealth."*

During almost as long a period as that throughout which the trade of Ireland continued in a state of restriction, its pasturage was ruinously disproportioned to its tillage.† Indeed

* Essay on the trade of Ireland, p. 38. Published in 1725. Mr. Browne was author of several valuable little tracts relative to Ireland, all of which, however, have long since fallen into oblivion.

† It is not, perhaps, to be apprehended, that the pasturage of Ireland will ever again exceed its tillage in a ruinous degree. As, no pursuit, however, especially at present, is obviously better calculated to forward the general welfare of that country, than that of tillage, every circumstance, event, or practice, tending to its diminution or limitation, should be industriously discountenanced, and strenuously opposed. And every practice which may be considered as being even remotely and problematically unfavourable to its extension, should undergo the most serious consideration before it become too prevalent to be resisted with effect. Of this last nature, I must, until better informed, consider a certain recent practice, to which I shall hereafter take the liberty to allude.

In order to attain an ample and influential knowledge of the respective effects and attendant circumstances of pasturage and tillage, as opposed to each other, it is necessary to compare the condition of a country in which the former is pursued as the principal business, with that of a country in which it is pursued merely as a supplementary part of agriculture. These effects and attendant circumstances will ge-

we may say that such was nearly the case until that great and steady practical patriot, to whom the landed and commercial interests of Ireland owe an immense debt of gratitude, and who

nerally be found to manifest themselves in proportion as either of these modes of employing the land of a country gains upon the other. On the present occasion, it may suffice to notice some of the more obvious effects and attendant circumstances of each. The most prominent effects of the encroachment of pasturage on tillage are, to augment the quantity of animal food; and at the same time to diminish the number of consumers: in other words, to glut the market with a commodity, and reduce the number of competitors for it. The most prominent effects of an extension of tillage are, to increase the quantity of the various products of the earth, and at the same time to multiply the number of consumers. In other words, to extend the market, and render the demand for the commodity equal to the supply. In the former of these cases, it is sufficiently evident that the value of land must decline; in the latter, it may be easily made appear that the value of land must rise. As to foreign demands for animal food, it may be considered as certain, that they will never be sufficiently great and uniform to raise the value of land employed in its production so high as it may be raised by a constant and increasing home demand for the different products of tillage.

Pasturage is of a peculiarly depopulating nature;—as cattle spread, men disappear;—as men disappear, trade declines;—and as trade declines, and population decreases, the value of land, however fertile, must necessarily fall. It is not the fertility of land which renders it valuable; but the density of a well-employed population. A thousand acres of rich

deservedly enjoys the unlimited respect and confidence of his countrymen, until Mr. Foster, when Chancellor of the Exchequer, held forth his liberal and well-judged bounties on the ex-

land west of the Allegany mountains are not so valuable as ten acres in Holland rescued and preserved at great expence from the ravages of the ocean. "The true and natural ground of trade and riches," says Sir Wm. Temple, "is the number of people in proportion to the compass of the ground they inhabit: this makes all things necessary to life dear, and that forces men to industry and parsimony," Vol. III. p. 6. "Fewness of people," says Sir Wm. Petty, "is real poverty; and a nation wherein are eight millions of people is more than twice as rich as the same scope of land wherein are but four," p. 19, 20. "The bodies of men, says Dr. Davenant, are without doubt the most valuable treasure of a country; and in their sphere the ordinary people are as serviceable to the commonwealth as the rich, if they be employed in honest labour and useful arts: and such being more in number, do more contribute to increase the nation's wealth than the higher ranks." Political and Commercial Works, Vol. II. p. 202.

Pasturage, then, may fairly be considered as preclusive of national wealth. The trades and manufactures which it encourages are very few indeed: those of which it may be said to be obstructive are many. In fact it is the home demand which must always be proportioned to the number and increase of people, that occasions the establishment, and favours the growth of all manufactures. This demand pasturage evidently tends either to reduce or limit. Tillage, on the contrary, must, as it extends, increase this demand by necessarily occasioning a multiplication of people. Not

portation of corn, which almost immediately produced the meditated effects of extending the tillage, and thereby affording employment to the redundant population of Ireland. For we

merely a multiplication of those who are directly concerned in it; but that of every other description of people in the community: for it is abundantly manifest, that among all descriptions of people in a community, there exists such a reciprocal demand for each other's labour or ingenuity that the increase of any one description must necessarily occasion a proportionate increase of all others. Manufactures are the offspring of agriculture. Agriculture ought, says Mr. Chalmers, to be the great object of our care, because it is the broad foundation of every other establishment. With agriculture, certain trades must necessarily co-exist. These necessarily introduce others. The people concerned in them multiply in proportion to the demand for the produce of their labour. They cease to limit their operations to home demand. Labour is more and more subdivided. Its redundant produce, cheapened thereby, is exported. The wealth of other countries flows in. Capitals are created. Improvements made. Ornamental and useful arts multiplied. Additional sources of wealth opened. Unproductive land reclaimed. Husbandry improved. And the value of land proportionably increased. In short, the wealth created by tillage and its derivative or auxiliary means, and the consequent rise in the value of land may almost be said to be illimitable.

In a country circumstanced as Ireland actually is, an extension of pasturage is to be peculiarly deprecated. The manufactures carried on in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, cannot as yet afford sufficient employ-

find that the average export of unmanufactured corn of all sorts during the years 1771-2-3 amounted to only 31,423 barrels; but that

ment to their vast and increasing population. Industry is in these provinces greatly overstocked. The pernicious effects of such a state can be precluded by an extension of tillage alone, as adequate capitals for the establishment of manufactures for sale abroad are not as yet accumulated or at least thus applied.

In the event of a continuation of tranquillity, the overflowing capital of Great Britain will in millions find its way into Ireland. The redundant population of that country will in consequence be fully employed; and the value of its land eventually raised to an unexpected height. But how can a continuation of tranquillity be relied on, or how can a repetition of those disturbances, which have proved so disgraceful and so ruinous to Ireland, be prevented, if the demand for labour be lessened, and the difficulty of procuring a scrap of ground for potatoes encreased? Will not idleness and misery ensue? And is it not likely that traitors will be always ready enough to avail themselves of the event? Can any man be better prepared to become the instrument of an artful traitor than the poor labourer who pays an exorbitant rent for his cabin and garden, and is obliged to earn the means of doing so at the distance of four or five miles from his dwelling; while the fields surrounding it are devoted to the depasturing of cattle, *placid* perhaps in their looks and *peaceable* in their demeanour; but far more destructive to population than the tigers of Bengal or the wolves of the Pyrennees.

To such encroachments of beasts on man may be traced the barbarous practice of houghing. In fact, when idleness

during the years 1787-8-9 after the bounties had been granted it rose to 517,338 barrels, and that during the year ended 25th March 1791, there were exported of all sorts of

and misery prevail among the lower class of people, through the insensibility, selfishness, or improvidence of wealthy individuals, neither lives nor properties can be secure; nor of course the perpetual agency of a burthensome military establishment be dispensed with. The laudable exertions of humane and patriotic institutions for improving the condition of the poor must be vain, if counteracted by practices tending to lessen the demand for labour. Even the wisdom and practical commiseration of the legislature can, in such case, be of no avail. The poor may be exempted from taxes. They may be relieved from tithes. But unless there be a constant demand for their labour, (which would compensate for all burthens,) they must continue strangers to comfort and prone to insurrection.

These are truths with which the landlords of Ireland, generally speaking, cannot fail to be duly impressed. They know besides that the internal trade of our country, and the rents of our lands, have trebled in consequence of the extension of tillage. They know that the present increased prices of different sorts of animal food are attributable, solely, to the increase of consumers ultimately occasioned by an extension of tillage. They cannot doubt the various transcendent advantages of a dense and well employed population. They will admit, on reflection, that, "*the decay of population is the greatest evil that a state can suffer.*" Arch. Paley, Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 483. And that therefore, "the encouragement of population ought to be one of the first objects of policy in every state," Dr.

grain 863,047 barrels, although the extension of the breweries and distilleries of Ireland had occasioned an immense increase in the demand for barley at home.

Price, Observations on Reversionary Payments, vol. II. p. 47. They will readily admit that, "where there are but few inhabitants and a large territory, there is nothing but sloth and poverty; but when great numbers are confined to a narrow compass of ground, necessity puts them upon invention, frugality and industry; which, in a nation, are always recompensed with power and riches." Davenant, Political and Commercial Works, vol. I. p. 73. They have seen that "money cannot buy men: that men are of more value than money." Chalmers' Estimate, p. 320. They are aware of the great and growing exigencies of the army of the British empire. They are incapable of conspiring, like their ancestors, to depopulate their country, although they have long been kept in a state of painful vigilance and alarm, and have in many instances experienced unparalleled combinations of ingratitude and cruelty. They are, I am persuaded, for the greater part, wisely, humanely, and magnanimously solicitous rather for the reformation, than for the extermination of a deluded and ferocious populace.

It affords me, therefore, matter of no small astonishment to observe among some of them, certain evidences of a more considerable degree of zeal for the improvement of the breed of cattle than for the improvement of the system of tillage, especially as the latter does unquestionably stand the more in need of improvement of the two. I cannot, however, have a doubt that their solicitude for the extension and improvement of tillage has suffered a temporary comparative abatement only; and that it will soon be revived, and be-

In the early part of last century, owing to what cause I am not prepared to say, the tillage of Ireland appears to have been, for a short time, on the increase; and we shall hereafter

come more ardent than ever. For whatever may be the case with an individual or two, I hold it impossible that any considerable number of the landlords of Ireland can be brought to regard tillage as secondary to pasturage; or be influenced so far by any prevailing whim or fashion, as to encourage pursuits which may injure essentially their country and themselves.

That the breed of cattle in Ireland required improvement is what no one can deny. Nor can any one, governed by principles of patriotism, withhold a most ample tribute of applause and gratitude from those gentlemen who have resorted to every expedient, however expensive and inconvenient, to increase the general profitableness of the live stock of that country: it being evidently an object of the first magnitude in rural economy, and of incalculable benefit to the country, to apply, with the best effect, the quantum of food for cattle produced by the land. But I cannot easily persuade myself that any such tribute of applause is due to those, whose solicitude has been confined merely to the improvement of the ideal beauty of those animals which are destined for the food of man.

And I think it not altogether impossible that the zeal with which this improvement is prosecuted, or rather the propagation of the practice, may for a short time occasion a very fatal encroachment of pasturage on tillage; and be eventually productive of permanent bad effects. I confess, however, I am not by any means prepared to insist on this opinion as a truth: and therefore merely offer the practice and its pos-

find that, during that time, the increase of people was more rapid than at any other time anterior to the last quarter of the century.

The average export of corn of all sorts, which was only 19,236 barrels in the years 1708, 1709 and 1710, rose to 189,672 barrels in the years 1713, 1714 and 1715.* But it soon afterwards fell rapidly; and continued, with very little intermission, to fall till the year 1767, when the value of the corn exported was only £447, while that of the corn imported amounted to £133,161.† So contracted had the tillage of Ireland become, about the year 1727, that a single unfavourable season, as we learn from Archbishop Boulter, was productive of great distress, at least among those in the country, who did not subsist, throughout the year, on potatoes, and of course did not cultivate a sufficiency for the maintenance of their families, during that period; and also, in several of the towns, among the lower classes of people, comprising, at that time, a much greater propor-

sible effects to the serious consideration of more intelligent persons than myself. Nor should I have said thus much had I not conceived myself in some degree obliged to do so by the nature of the inquiry in which I am engaged.

* Mr. Young's Tour, Vol. II. part II. p. 122. † Ibid.

tion of protestants than at present, who still adhered to the same food to which their English ancestors had been accustomed. The great majority of the people who lived throughout the year, on potatoes, and cultivated them for their own use, seldom, if ever experienced the effects of scarcity. In a letter to Lord Carteret, dated July 20, 1727, his Grace says, "as to the corn and tillage bill, the great damage to this kingdom from landlords tying up their tenants from ploughing, the throwing so many families out of work that might be employed by tillage, and the terrible scarcity next to a famine that a great part of this kingdom now labours under, by the corn not yielding well last year, and to which we are liable upon any the least accident in our harvest, makes us all very desirous of having it passed; and as it is only *five* acres out of a hundred that are to be tilled, and that every farmer has till Michaelmas come two years to lay out his schemes of ploughing, we hope it will not be accounted any hardship to force them to till so small a portion of their land." In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated Feb. 24, 1727, the lord justice seems to apologize for the corn and tillage bill. He says "the bill *does not encourage tillage*, by allowing any premium to exporters of corn; but

barely obliges every person occupying one hundred acres or more, *(meadows, parks, bogs, &c. excepted,)* to till *five* acres out of every hundred."

From these letters, I think, it might be inferred that there existed a desire on the part of the government of England to obstruct the extension of tillage in Ireland. At all events, it is certain that no inclination prevailed among the ruling powers to promote it. Had such been the case, those bounties would have been resorted to which proved so efficacious in extending the tillage of this country. Under the influence of the bounties granted by the acts 1st of William and Mary, 5th of Anne, and 3d of George II. the average exportation of corn rose from 82,807 quarters, during the four years ended at 1700, to 848,660 quarters, during the ten years ended at 1750.* The bounty paid on the corn exported from 1741 to 1750 amounted to no less a sum than £1,514,962 17*s.* 4½*d.*†

It has been before remarked that the value of all the corn exported from Ireland had fallen in the year 1767 so low as £447; and that the

* Mr. Anderson's investigation of the circumstances that have led to the present scarcity of grain in Britain, &c. p. 41.

† Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. I. p. 205.

value of the corn imported into that country, during that year, amounted to £133,101. Hence it appears that while the tillage of England was increasing rapidly, that of Ireland was as rapidly declining. Thanks to Mr. Foster, the case has been otherwise of late.

But whatever might have been the policy of the ruling powers at the time I am speaking of, it seems certain that the landlords of Ireland were extremely solicitous to convert their country into a depopulated land of pasture: for in addition to tying up their tenants from ploughing, as Archbishop Boulter remarks, they clamoured for, and at length, by a resolution of the House of Commons, in 1736, succeeded in obtaining the abolition of the tithe of agistment; and thus gave a negative premium to pasturage.

It should be observed, however, that although the landlords of Ireland discouraged, and as far as they could, prevented their tenants from engaging in tillage, as a lucrative pursuit, there was no impediment whatsoever to the cultivation of the potatoe. On the contrary, the small quantity of land requisite to yield an ample supply of that root, for the maintenance of a poor man's family, was more easily obtainable

than at present. And accordingly, about the year 1767, when the quantity of corn imported very far exceeded that which was exported, the price of potatoes, as before noticed, was so low, at least in the province of Munster, as three halfpence for twenty-one pounds.

From these letters of Primate Boulter, it may likewise be inferred that during his administration, little more than about one-fortieth part of Ireland was under tillage, or not much more than was employed to furnish the corn exported during the year ended in March 1791, when the population of Ireland was positively more than twice as great as in the year 1727. For if it became necessary, in the latter year, to compel the farmers, by a particular act of Parliament, to till five acres out of every hundred, *meadows*, *parks*, *bogs*, &c. excepted, it is not unreasonable to presume that there was actually no greater proportion of land under tillage than that which I have mentioned.

In the letter last alluded to, the Archbishop says, " in some of the finest counties there is not a corn field to be seen in ten or fifteen miles travelling." At present a person may travel a *hundred* and ten, or a *hundred* and fifteen miles through Ireland, and meet little else than corn or potatoe fields. They are

seen stretching up to the very tops of the mountains.

If then the trade of Ireland was so fettered, and its agriculture so confined, as not to afford employment to its population, annually increasing under the operation of the causes formerly noticed; and if the existing laws were of a nature to render the great majority of the people supremely miserable, it can afford no matter of surprise that, notwithstanding the extraordinary physical advantages of that country, it was distinguished above all others by immense emigrations of people.

Mr. Arthur Young, from the information which he received during his tour through Ireland, tells us that "for many years about 2000 persons had annually emigrated from the north to America; that 4000 had gone in the year 1773 from the port of Belfast alone;* that the habit of emigrating to America had prevailed about forty years;† that a ship went annually from Limerick with emigrants to America;‡ and that, on an average of twenty years, the number of those who emigrated annually to that country amounted to between four and five thousand."§

* Tour, Vol. I. p. 203. † Ibid. Vol. II. part. II. p. 42.
‡ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 6. § Ibid. Vol. II. part II. p. 209.

With regard both to the numbers who emigrated to America, and the period during which these emigrations continued, Mr. Young was not so fortunate as to procure such correct intelligence as he collected on almost every other subject. Indeed the magnitude and continuance of these emigrations were, when Mr. Young travelled through Ireland, neither fully nor generally known.

In a little tract, entitled a "List of Absentees," said to be written by Mr. Thomas Prior, in 1729; but probably by Mr. Browne, whom I have before mentioned, it is stated, that 3000 people went annually to America. This statement corresponds, as to the fact of emigration, with the information of Archbishop Boulter. In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated July 1728, his Grace says, "We have *hundreds* of families removing out of the north to America." In another letter to the same nobleman, dated November 23, 1728, he says, "But whatever occasions their going, it is *certain*, that above *four thousand two hundred* men, women, and children, have been shipped off from hence to the West Indies within these three years, and of these above three thousand last summer." The causes of their going were, I think, sufficiently obvious: trade was fettered,

manufactures depressed, agriculture restricted, and industry, to use an expression of Sir James Stewart, was in consequence greatly over-stocked.

In the year 1784 there appeared an accurate statement of the numbers who emigrated to America in the years 1771, 1772, 1773. It was as follows:

*In the year* 1771.

| Ports. | N° of Ships. | N° of People. |
|---|---|---|
| Belfast | 7 | 1,750 |
| Newry | 9 | 2,800 |
| Derry | 13 | 3,650 |
| Larne | 2 | 450 |
| Portrush | 1 | 250 |

*In the year* 1772.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Belfast | 10 | 2,650 |
| Newry | 5 | 1,600 |
| Derry | 9 | 2,600 |
| Larne | 5 | 1,300 |
| Portrush | 1 | 250 |

*In the year* 1773.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Belfast | 13 | 3,400 |
| Newry | 8 | 2,550 |
| Derry | 14 | 4,050 |
| Larne | 4 | 1,300 |

Total 28,600. Annual average 9,533.

If we said that during fifty years of the last century the average annual emigrations to America and the West Indies (for considerable numbers went there also) amounted to about 4,000, and consequently that, in that space of time, about 200,000 had emigrated to the British plantations, I am disposed to think we should rather fall short of, than exceed the truth.

But this was not the only loss of the same nature that the population of Ireland experienced. The Abbé M'Geoghegan in his Histoire d'Irlande, tells us that 450,000 Irishmen had perished in the service of France, between the years 1691 and 1745. His words are these: "Par des calculs & des recherches faites au Bureau de la guerre, on a trouvé qu'il y avoit eu depuis l'arrivée des troupes Irelandoises en France en 1691, jusqu'en 1745 que se donna la bataille de Fontenoy, plus de quatre cents cinquante mille Irelandois morts au service de la France."*

This statement may perhaps be considered as extravagant, and the Abbé M'Geoghegan may be suspected of being actuated by a solicitude to magnify the zeal of his countrymen and their devotion to France; to impress

* Tome, 3me. p. 754.

the people of that country with high ideas of the advantages derivable from his; and to excite practical gratitude on the part of the government. Let us see then how far this statement is confirmed by the testimony of one, who could not be suspected of exaggeration, in the case before us.

In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated in May 1726, Primate Boulter says, " There seems likewise to be men listing in *several parts*, but whether for France or Spain is uncertain, though they *pretend for the former*." In a letter written in the same month and year to Lord Carteret, his Grace says, " I think it my duty to acquaint your Excellency, that *every day* fresh accounts come in to us that there are *great numbers* listing here for foreign service." In another letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated 30th of March 1727, he says, " Every thing here is quiet, except that in *spight of all our endeavours*, recruits are still going off for *Spain* as well as for France." In another letter to the same Nobleman, dated October 14th 1730, he says, " I have since discoursed with the other Lords Justices on the subject (recruiting for the French army) and find they apprehend there will be greater difficulties in this affair than at first offered. What has hap-

pened to *several* of them (the French officers) formerly when they were raising recruits here in a *clandestine* way (though, *as we knew his Majesty's intentions, we slighted, and as far as we well could, discouraged complaints on that head,)* your Grace well knows from the several applications made to your Lordship by the French Ambassador." Thus then it appears, from the best authority, that during four years, at least, great numbers were inlisted for the army of France; and this too with the permission, or by the connivance, of the British government; under a persuasion, I presume, that Ireland was then one of those few countries, " ou (to use the words of the President Montesquieu) un homme ne vaut rien; or rather, ou il vaut moins que rien."*

That for many years after, the government, in consequence of clamours in this country, had withdrawn permission to recruit for the French army in Ireland, vast numbers were annually drawn by stealth from that country to France, is a fact which to this day is spoken of by several of the people who live near the southern coast.

The success which attended the exertions of Irish recruiting officers, promoted in a foreign

* L'Esprit des Loix, tom. III. p. 31.

service, speaking the language of their own country, professing the religion of a great majority of its inhabitants, aided perhaps by friars of Irish extraction, privately permitted and encouraged to recruit by the government, but ostensibly prohibited from doing so, must have been inconceivably great, especially in the early part of the last century, when the poor of Ireland had no inducement whatsoever to stay in their native country.

Upon the whole, I am inclined to think that we are not sufficiently warranted in considering the Abbé M'Geoghegan's statement as an exaggeration.

Besides the losses which have just been considered, the population of Ireland sustained a very heavy one by a perpetual, but almost imperceptible, because gradual, efflux of people to England, and such other countries not already mentioned as pr' ented to the Irish those different attractions of which their own, until within these last five-and-twenty, or thirty years, was comparatively destitute. But of the amount of this loss there are no materials to form a satisfactory conjecture. I think it must, upon the whole, have exceeded 200,000 souls.

Doctor Brankenridge, as quoted by Sir James Stewart, affirmed that the population of England

would decrease were it not recruited from Ireland and Scotland.* Whatever might have been the case when the Doctor wrote, we know that the population of England actually increases, and is likely to increase, with considerable rapidity, without depending on the accession of strangers.—It is certain, however, that during a great part of the last century, vast numbers of people came annually from Ireland to this country.

Doctor Price supposes that London requires an annual supply of 10,000 people.† This seems not unlikely. He tells us in the general introduction to his tables, that, " it appeared from the midwifery reports of the general Westminster Infirmary, that of 3236 married persons, examined by Doctor Bland, 280 or about one-twelfth were from Ireland; and that only 824 were born in London:" consequently that the Irish constituted more than one-ninth of the new comers who were relieved in that infirmary. If then the Irish heretofore held so great a proportion to the other people by whom the waste of London was supplied, it seems not

* Political Economy, vol. I. p. 97.

† Observations on the difference between the duration of human life in towns and in country parishes and villages. 1st additional Essay.

unreasonable to suppose that the average annual efflux from Ireland to England, and all countries not before-mentioned, amounted to about 3000 souls during about three-fourths of the last century; or that, in that period of time, Ireland thus lost 200,000 people.

But in order to form a correct estimate of the vast loss which the population of that country sustained by emigrations, during the last century, we must not confine ourselves to considering merely the numbers of those who successively emigrated from that country to different parts of the world; we must also consider the multitudes who would have sprung from them had they remained at home. Of the magnitude of these, however, we cannot form a competent idea, until we shall become acquainted with the rapid and authenticated increase of the stationary inhabitants of Ireland.

If then, as Mr. Hume says, where there are the wisest institutions, and the most happiness, there will also be the most people: if, as Doctor Adam Smith says, the increase of population depends, in an eminent manner, on an increasing demand for, and a liberal reward of, labour: if the political situation of the great majority of the Irish people was miserable in the extreme, during about three-fourths of the

last century: if the trade of Ireland was so fettered, and the tillage of that country so confined, during nearly the same space of time, as not to afford adequate employment to the labouring part of the community: if, in consequence of these distressing circumstances, multitudes withdrew from their native country: and if, nevertheless, the population did, as it is known to have done, increase with considerable celerity; must we not consider ourselves as completely dispossessed of all fit grounds for surprise at its having increased, with signal rapidity, since the removal of every obstacle to its progress; the different causes of its increase still continuing to operate with unabated energy?

## SECTION IV.

*Of the local Remarks of Mr. Young respecting the Population of Ireland; and of the defectiveness of the Returns of the Hearth-Money Collectors.*

THAT intelligent and accurate observer, and unbiassed narrator, Mr. Arthur Young, in the course of his tour through Ireland, in the years 1776, 1777 and 1778, when the political circumstances of that country were, in general, by no means so propitious to population as they soon afterwards became, remarked, in a great number of districts, I might say almost every where, either a rapid or a considerable increase of people; as will appear by the following extracts. Shaen-castle. "Population evidently increases." Vol. I. p. 81. Bargie and Forth. "The people increase prodigiously." Vol. I. p. 112. Courtown. "The people increase considerably." Vol. I. p. 119. Mount Kennedy. "The people increase much." Vol. I. p. 129. Hampton. "Population increases very fast." Vol. I. p. 140. Castle Caldwell. "The people in all this neighbourhood increase

very fast." Vol. I. p. 263. Belleisle. "The people increase very fast in this neighbourhood." Vol. I. p. 271. Florence-court. "The people increase considerably, *notwithstanding the emigrations which were great until these two years.*" Vol. I. p. 284. Farnham. "The people increase very much." Vol. I. p. 293. Ballynogh. "The country evidently increases very much in population." Vol. I. p. 296. Strokestown. "This part of the country is not populous, but more so than it was." Vol. I. p. 299. Mercra. "The people throughout increase very fast most undoubtedly. Vol. I. p. 333. Sortland. "The people increase very greatly, so as to be evidently crouded." Vol. I. p. 342. Westport. "The increase of population is very great." Vol. I. p. 361. County of Galway. "Population increases greatly." Vol. I. p. 392. Drumoland. "The people are much increased." Vol. I. p. 412. Limerick. "Population has much increased." Vol. II. p. 5. Tarbat. "The country is greatly more populous than it was twenty years ago; and is now increasing; and if ever so many cabins were built tenants would be found for them." Vol. II. p. 134. Castle Oliver. "The population increases exceedingly." Vol. II. p. 148. Ballycanvan. "The increase of people about Bally-

canvan is very great." Vol. II. p. 193. Furness. "I was again struck with the great population of the country." Vol. II. p. 206. Johnstown. "Buildings are very much increased in all the towns." Vol. II. p. 236. Mitchelstown. "The population is very great." Vol. II. p. 275. These passages evince a very great, and with the exception of some of the northern counties, a very general increase of people in Ireland anterior to 1778. And the information of Mr. Young is particularly worthy of attention; being the result, either of accurate observations made on the spot, or of the communications of the best informed persons in each district, who were frequently assembled for the purpose of assisting him in his inquiries.

If the increase of people in Ireland was thus manifestly great anterior to the year 1778, it must certainly have been signally rapid posterior to that year; it being notorious and indisputable, that the circumstances by which the progress of population is governed, were incomparably more auspicious to a rapid multiplication of people in that country, since the year 1778, than at any former period within the records of its history.

But the information of Mr. Young, on the subject of a recent increase of people in Ireland,

obtained in such a manner as to leave no room to suspect its authenticity, is extremely different from that which the returns of the hearth money collectors afford: nay, utterly incompatible therewith. And it is of consequence that the reader should be duly impressed with this irreconcilable difference, in order that it may be present in his mind, on all occasions, when the returns of these officers shall be found inconsistent with fair deductions from authoritative facts or circumstances. For this purpose it is necessary to ascertain whether the information which Mr. Young gives, is, in reality, more or less worthy of being relied on, than that which we derive from these returns.

The number of houses, returned by the collectors of hearth-money, in the year 1767, was 424,046. The number returned in the year 1777, was 448,426. By these two returns it appears, that the increase of houses, in ten years, was only 24,380; or on an average 2438 each year. Now there being according to Mr. Beaufort,* 30,370 square miles (English measure) in Ireland, this increase would not have given, on an average, more than one house to every square mile and a quarter in ten years;

* Memoir of a Map of Ireland, p. 14.

or not one house to every twelve square miles each year.

Had the increase of houses in Ireland from 1767 to 1777 been, *in reality*, so inconsiderable as this, it is abundantly evident that Mr. Young would have been totally destitute of grounds for making the remarks which have been quoted. Such a slight increase as this could scarcely have been perceptible. It would have wholly escaped the observations of nineteen travellers out of twenty. But a mere comparative view of the returns at different times, will amply evince that the foregoing ones were absolute misrepresentations of the progress of population in Ireland.

Doctor Price (as noticed in the preface to these pages) was taught to distrust the returns of the hearth-money collectors. We shall here discover the propriety of the caution; not, however, because these returns *exceeded*, but because they fell *infinitely short* of the truth.

If it were necessary to substantiate Mr. Young's information, the Commons Journals and the Custom-house books of Ireland might, for this purpose, be resorted to with full effect: these books furnishing sufficient evidences of an increased importation of articles for home

consumption, and of an increased demand for labour, during the period in question. And it will, no doubt, be readily admitted that such evidences are incomparably more decisive, with regard to an increase of population, than the occasional returns of tax-gatherers, manifestly interested in making incomplete returns. But the adduction of auxiliary facts, in support of Mr. Young's information, which stands in direct opposition to that which is conveyed to us by the returns of the hearth-money collectors, is perfectly superfluous; because, as was before suggested, these returns will be found to carry with them their own refutation.

In the year 1767, as before observed, the number of houses returned was 424,046. In the year 1777, the number *returned* was 448,426: the increase in ten years being 24,380, or on an average 2,438 each year. In the year 1785 the number *returned* was 474,322: the increase in eight years being 25,896, or on an average 3,237 each year. But, in the year 1788, the number *returned* was 621,484, to which Mr. Bushe, then one of the commissioners of the revenue, was enabled, by the detection of omissions, to add 28,516; making together 650,000: a number which that gentleman distinctly affirmed was short of the

truth; and which announced an increase of 175,678 in *three* years; or an average annual increase of 58,559! or an increase of 201,574 in *eleven* years; giving an average annual increase of about 18,325!

Allowing six to a house we find by these returns that there were 2,690,556 people in Ireland, in the year 1777, and 3,900,000 in the year 1788: or that the inhabitants of Ireland had increased so as to double in about 24½ years: or indeed, if Doctor Price's more correct method of computing the period of doubling* be adopted, in a much shorter space of time; which would make the period of doubling in Ireland, at a time when *all* circumstances certainly did not uniformly conduce to accelerate the multiplication of people, equal in point of brevity to the period of doubling in America; which, in modern times at least, stands unrivalled. But if we take the increase, as announced by the returns from 1785 to 1788, we shall find the period of doubling to be little more than *eight* years; which is a shorter period, I apprehend, than that in which any people have doubled since the deluge; and shorter, by near two years, than that in which Sir William Petty

* See Observations on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. page 52.

thinks it possible for people to double, under any circumstances. Incredible and absurd! The return therefore of 1788, which even after Mr. Bushe's addition, that gentleman pronounced to be short of the truth, and which we may hereafter find sufficient reason for being persuaded was so, amounts to a satisfactory proof of the falsity of those by which it was preceded. Had the houses been faithfully returned in 1767, 1777 and 1785, we should have found the returns of these years swelled by a large proportion of the houses returned in 1788; and, in such case, the returns and Mr. Young's observations, would have corresponded with each other.

The increase of people in Ireland, from the year 1777 to the year 1788, was no doubt much greater than it had been during any period of equal extent anterior to the former year, in consequence of the final cessation of emigrations to America, (the levies for the French army were discontinued soon after 1748,) in consequence also of the obtainment of a free trade in 1779; and in consequence of the extension of tillage: but positively not so great as to occasion a duplication of the people in about four and twenty years and a half. The increase of people in that country, from 1782 to

1788, was doubtless still more rapid in consequence of a general melioration of national circumstances, and a growing demand for labour from all quarters; but indubitably not so rapid as to cause a duplication of the inhabitants in the narrow compass of about eight years. "The improvement of Ireland," said my Lord Sheffield, who wrote his observations in 1785, "is as rapid as any country ever experienced."* True. "Can those who now hear me," said Mr. Foster, "deny that since the period of 1782, Ireland has risen in civilization, wealth, and manufactures, in a greater proportion, and with a more rapid progress than any other country in Europe?"† Certainly not: thanks to his zeal and abilities. But had the improvement of Ireland been twice as great as it was, it would be to the last degree nugatory to insist on the utter improbability of its population doubling in *twice* eight years.

The fact is, the enormous return of 1788 was owing to a general interchange of the hearth-money collectors, which took place the preceding year: a measure which originated in a persuasion, on the part of government, that great abuses had become prevalent in the col-

* Page 6. † Speech in the House of Commons, 17th February 1800.

lection of the hearth tax; and one whereof the success, if other considerations were wanting, should teach us to regard all computations, respecting the population of Ireland, grounded solely on the returns of tax-gatherers, as far below the truth.

That the revenue of Ireland has always been defectively collected, and that its collection has cost much more in proportion than that of the revenue of England, are truths which are sufficiently known.

Lord Clarendon, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, dated Feb. 9, 1685-6, complains, that "although the revenue had been in management three years, three collectors only, out of 53, had accompted on oath, and that for one year only." A gentleman, eminently conversant in the fiscal concerns of Ireland, was heard by the writer of these pages to declare, the year before the union took place, that in addition to the revenue then paid into the Exchequer, near half a million sterling might be obtained by strict attention to the business of collection. The late balances in the hands of the different collectors, and the arrears due, may be considered as strong indications of a very defective management of the public revenue of Ireland; but one which the former government

of that country was not perhaps the best qualified to remedy. The balances in the hands of the different collectors on the 25th of March 1799, stood thus:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Customs | £688,486 | 13*s.* | 5¾*d.* |
| Stamps | 65,386 | 16 | 4½ |
| Post Office | 12,106 | 2 | 10½ |
| *Total* | £765,979 | 12*s.* | 8¾*d.* |

The arrears due from the several collectors, deceased or dismissed, employed in the collection of the public revenue of Ireland amounted, in the year ended 5th of January 1803, to £123,061 1*s.* 8½*d.* The cash due by deceased and dismissed distributors of stamps in Ireland amounted, at the same time to £22,257 6*s.* 0½*d.* Compare these with the arrears and balances due in this country. The arrears and current balances due from the officers of the customs, from the 5th of January 1774 amounted, on the 5th January 1802, to only £22,173 19*s.* 2½*d.* From those of the excise to only £90 3*s.* 10½*d.* and the arrears due under the head of stamps, notwithstanding the magnitude of the revenue thence accruing, amounted on the 5th of January 1803, to only £40,457 6*s.* 5*d.* being only £18,200 0*s.* 4½*d.* more than the amount of the cash due by the deceased and dismissed

distributors of stamps in Ireland; although the total receipt to be accounted for under that head, on the 5th of January 1804, did not exceed £297,102 6*s.* 0½*d.**

But this is stepping too much aside from our inquiry. Let us return then to the collectors of hearth money.

The writer of these pages is nowise inclined to charge the present hearth-money collectors of Ireland with fraudulent practices. He can easily persuade himself that there are very many honest conscientious persons among them. Those practices, however, which are upon record, cannot, consistently with a due prosecution of the present inquiry, be wholly overlooked. The late Mr. Bushe (one of the commissioners of the revenue) in his Essay on the Population of Ireland, presented to the Royal Irish Academy, says, "In 1786 when, although sworn officers were appointed to collect the duty, and after the frauds of several of them had been detected and punished, there were houses suppressed to the number of near 200,000." In another part of his essay, accounting for the difference between his return of houses and that presented to the House of

* Accounts laid before Parliament.

Commons, he says, "The cause of this variation is that the survey-books had not come up. The officers suppressed in their abstracts several houses which they had returned in their survey-books (which are sworn to) and kept the money to themselves."* Mr. Wray, actually inspector general of hearth money, an assiduous and intelligent officer, says, in his declaration before the House of Commons, in 1793, "I have found, before the new regulation, it was the custom to take little bribes from those exempted; it had been also done since; but from the constant attention to detect this fraud, and the severity with which it has always been punished, it has been so stopped of late, that in my inspection of last summer I found no instance of this fraud *though I did of every other fraud.*"†

But whatever reformation may have been wrought among the revenue officers in point of honesty; it is certain that a majority of them still stand exposed to censure for negligence and supineness in the execution of business incident to their office.

The disfranchisement of a certain number of the smaller corporate towns of Ireland being resolved on, in pursuance of the article of union

* Transactions of the Royal Irish Academy, Vol. III.

† Commons Journals, 1793. Appendix, p. 337, Vol. XV.

which provides for the representation of that country in the Imperial Parliament, an order was issued to the collectors of hearth money to make returns of the number of houses in every town sending members to Parliament, except Dublin and Cork, distinguishing those houses which paid the hearth tax from those which were exempt. By the returns transmitted, in obedience to this order, it appears, that the towns which sent members to Parliament, exclusive of Dublin and Cork, and also of six insignificant boroughs, from whence no returns were transmitted, contained only 55,736 houses, of which 15,988 paid the hearth tax.* It is true that from 15 to 20 of the boroughs were not more populous than many obscure villages, the names whereof are scarcely known beyond the counties in which they are situated. It is likewise true that many very populous towns, such as Carrick-on-Suir,† which, in the year 1798, was found by Colonel Morton Pitt and Mr. White to contain 10,904 inhabitants, Parsons-town or Birr, Thurles, Tipperary and several others did not send members to Parliament. Still, however, we have sufficient reason to suspect that

* Commons Journals, Vol. XIX.

† *Population of Carrick-on-Suir*; 5,143 males, 5,761 females; total 10,904. 2,757 males from 15 to 59 years old.

those which did, contained nearer fourscore thousand than 55,736 houses.

Mr. Tighe, in his luminous, comprehensive, and highly satisfactory statistical survey of the county of Kilkenny, written in the years 1800 and 1801, and published in 1802, gives the following account of the houses in the corporate towns of that county, which in order to exhibit in a clear point of view the remissness of the hearth-money collectors, we shall compare with the account laid before Parliament: premising, what I apprehend will readily be admitted, that the information of an extremely intelligent and respectable resident country gentleman, solicitous to present to one of the most distinguished and patriotic societies in Europe, and one which comprises the best informed men in Ireland, an accurate and ample exhibition of the circumstances of his county, cannot with reason or decency be doubted, or considered as *less worthy of reliance* than the perfunctory returns of tax-gatherers.

| | According to Mr. Tighe. | | | According to the Return to Parliament. | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. of houses paying hearth-money in 1800. | No. of houses exempt. | Total. | No. of houses paying hearth-money in 1800. | No. of houses exempt. | Total. | No. of houses suppressed in the return. |
| City of Kilkenny and Borough of St. Canice .... | 419 | 2151 | 2870 | 412 | 1136 | 1548 | 1322 |
| Borough of Callan | 39 | 191 | 530 | 57 | 438 | 475 | 55 |
| Borough of Thomastown.... | 18 | 332 | 350 | 18 | 98 | 116 | 234 |
| Borough of Gowran..... | 7 | 173 | 180 | 7 | 173 | 180 | |
| Borough of Inistioge..... | 10 | 100 | 110 | 10 | 90 | 100 | 10 |
| Borough of Knocktopher ... | 6 | 85 | 91 | 6 | 70 | 76 | 15 |
| *Totals.. | 499 | 3632 | 4131 | 490 | 2005 | 2495 | 1636 |

Thus we perceive, that in six towns, in the county of Kilkenny, 1636 or near two-fifths of the houses were suppressed in the return made to parliament in the year 1800. At this rate, the total number of houses suppressed in 107 towns, must have been about 37,000.

Another proof of the negligence of the collectors of hearth-money, on the occasion before mentioned, will be found to arise out of a comparative statement of the number of houses discovered by Mr. Bushe, in the following towns, in the year 1788 (the only provincial

* Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny, p. 463, 464, 465.

ones which appear in his essay) and the number returned to Parliament in the year 1800.

| According to Mr. Bushe, in the year 1788. | According to the returns laid before Parliament in the year 1800. | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Total of Houses. | No. of houses paying hearth money. | No. of houses exempt. | Total. | Increase since 1788. | Decrease since 1788. |
| Londonderry. 1642 | 478 | 676 | 1154 | | 488 |
| Kilkenny... 2689 | 412 | 1136 | 1548 | | 1141 |
| Kinsale.... 1079 | 419 | 617 | 1036 | | 43 |
| Limerick... 4876 | 1346 | 1633 | 2979 | | 1897 |
| Waterford.. 4097 | 1330 | 1777 | 3107 | | 990 |
| Wexford... 1412 | 414 | 976 | 1390 | | 22 |
| Newry..... 1772 | 542 | 961 | 1503 | | 269 |
| Belfast..... 2641 | 1298 | 1755 | 3053 | 412 | 4850 |
| Drogheda... 1731 | 463 | 2624 | 3087 | 1356 | |
| Galway.... 947 | 373 | 839 | 1212 | 265 | |
| Sligo..... 916 | 282 | 896 | 1178 | 262 | |
| Youghall... 830 | 312 | 911 | 1223 | 393 | |
| Athlone.... 676 | 214 | 462 | 676 | | |
| | | | | 2688 | |

By these statements it appears that seven towns, which were found to contain 17,567 houses, in the year 1788, lost, in the short period of twelve years, 4850 houses, or about two-sevenths of their number. " Can those who hear me deny," said Mr. Foster, in the speech before alluded to, delivered in the year 1800, " that since 1782, this country has risen in civilization, wealth, and manufactures, in a greater proportion, and with a more rapid progress, *than any other country in Europe, and much more than it ever did itself in a like period*

*before?*" Indisputably none of his auditors were prepared to answer him in the negative, and the fact will appear hereafter. Is it then credible, that seven towns situated for the most part as advantageously as possible for an increase of people, should lose, during a period of unprecedented national improvement, near two-sevenths of their houses, and of course near two-sevenths of their inhabitants? Certainly not. Can any man who knows that the city of Limerick stands in one of the most fertile districts in the world, and in which tillage has of late years increased most rapidly, and that its walls are washed by one of the noblest navigable rivers in Europe, disemboguing itself into the great Atlantic ocean; Can any man who knows that Limerick is thus situated, believe that it experienced a decrease of considerably more than one-third of its houses, during a period of twelve years, in which every circumstance, both national and local, conduced, in a pre-eminent degree, to augment its population? Will any inhabitant of the city or county of Limerick admit the fact. On the contrary, are there not many prepared to say that, since the year 1779, in which Ireland obtained a free trade, the buildings of Limerick have been doubled? Is it to be credited, that

Athlone neither lost nor gained a single house in twelve years? The truth I believe will appear to be this, that in all those towns whereof the number of houses does not exceed in the return the number found by Mr. Bushe, the collectors extracted the houses paying hearth-money from their books, which perhaps were not generally filled up to the year 1800; and in many instances returned the houses exempt upon mere conjecture: for in the towns already mentioned, which appear to have increased in houses, the houses liable to the hearth-tax constitute not much more than one-third of the whole. But in the towns whereof the number of houses appears to have decreased, the taxable houses are to the houses exempt as nearly one to one and a half. In the seven towns which appear to have decreased in houses, the houses paying the hearth-tax amount to 4,941, and the houses exempt therefrom to only 7,776; but in the five towns which appear to have increased in houses, the houses exempt from the tax are in number 7,025, and those which pay it only 2,728.

The probability of returns having been made on mere conjecture will, I think, further appear from a comparison of the different numbers of taxable and exempted houses in the following towns:

| | N° of houses paying hearth-tax. | N° of houses exempt. |
|---|---|---|
| Drogheda | 463 | 2,624 |
| Dundalk | 238 | 845 |
| Sligo | 282 | 896 |
| Dungarvan | 126 | 1,251 |
| Cashel | 162 | 709 |
| Mullingar | 130 | 512 |
| Navan | 97 | 511 |
| Athboy | 57 | 379 |
| Lismore | 35 | 200 |
| Carlingford | 39 | 247 |
| Callan | 37 | 438 |
| Feathard in Tipperary | 48 | 507 |
| Swords | 34 | 207 |
| Dingle | 34 | 318 |
| Killileagh | 10 | 109 |
| Askeaton | 14 | 147 |
| ( * ) | 1,806 | 9,900 |

| | N° of houses paying hearth-tax. | N° of houses exempt. |
|---|---|---|
| Ennis | 263 | 285 |
| Dungannon | 223 | 161 |
| Portarlington | 148 | 174 |
| Enniskillen | 181 | 186 |
| Hillsborough | 78 | 81 |
| Cavan | 93 | 131 |
| Enniscorthy | 92 | 125 |
| Granard | 102 | 186 |
| Donegal | 29 | 29 |
| ( * ) | 1,209 | 1,358 |

* Commons Journals, Vol. XIX. Year 1800.

The circumstances of some of these towns differ, I know, considerably from those of others. The difference, however, in the circumstances of the towns in both columns, collectively taken, is not I apprehend so great, as that in one case the exempted houses should be as upwards of five to one to those which pay the hearth-tax, and in the other nearly equal.

There is yet another circumstance, which, if indeed any thing were wanting, would tend to confirm me in the opinion that several of the returns were made on partial conjectures. It is this. I find that in the return presented to Parliament, the borough of Tuam is stated to contain 560 houses in all. By a very accurate return, however, with which I have lately been favoured, it appears that the Roman Catholic families alone of the parish of Tuam, which I presume does not extend far beyond the town, amount to 1,413.

Keeping then in mind the irreconcilable difference between the information on the subject of the progress of population in Ireland, immediately anterior to the year 1777, derivable from the observations of Mr. Arthur Young, and that which is afforded by the returns of the collectors of hearth-money; recollecting the discovery which was made in the year 1788, by

means of the expedient to which government resorted in the preceding year; remembering the assertions of Mr. Bushe, and the declaration of Mr. Wray; and considering the admissible evidences of negligence, on the part of the hearth-money collectors, which have just been produced; I think we must find ourselves constrained to acknowledge that we cannot, without outraging our reason, decline to consider all computations respecting the progress and magnitude of the population of Ireland as below the truth, in proportion as they rest on the returns chiefly of the collectors of hearth-money. These however are the documents which we shall employ; not indeed as the only evidences of the increase of people in Ireland, for we have much more substantial and unequivocal ones to resort to; but as the ground work of our future computations. And it is presumed, that no suspicion of exaggeration can reasonably be harboured, if such computations be found to arise out of, and in no case to extend beyond, these returns.

## SECTION V.

*Of the Period in which the Population of Ireland doubles, as deduced from a Combination of various returns.*

THE first computation respecting the number of the inhabitants of Ireland, which tends to throw light on their increase during the last century, is that made in the year 1695, by Captain South:* a gentleman who had a good opportunity of acquiring information on the subject in question, and whose local researches or surveys, some of which we shall probably have occasion to notice hereafter, evince considerable assiduity.

In the year 1672, Sir William Petty computed, that Ireland contained about eleven hundred thousand inhabitants. This computation, which, by the way, can afford us no assistance in our present inquiry, seems to have been rather a rough conjecture than any thing

* New Abridgement of Philosophical Transactions, Vol. IV. p. 482.

else. At least it is not very unreasonable to infer that it was so, from the circumstance of the hearth-tax being farmed, as appears by Lord Clarendon's letters, anterior to 1685-6,* and also from the consideration of Sir William's silence respecting the documents which authorised his computation. Whether Sir William Petty over-rated the population of Ireland, in 1672, it is impossible now to determine. That he did not under-rate it we may consider as certain. In Sir William Temple's Essay on the advancement of trade in Ireland, more than one passage occurs, which affords us ample reason to believe that that country was then in a comparatively depopulated condition. The civil war, which lasted eleven years, and ended in 1652, and the plague which accompanied it "would," as he says, "have left Ireland, in a manner, *desolate*, had it not been for the British soldiers and adventurers who settled there." Lord Clarendon, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer, dated Sept. 28, 1686, speaking of the county of Tipperary, says, "In this fruitful and rich county, there is very little arable, and consequently not much people; of which indeed there [redacted] *great scarcity over the whole*

* Letter to the Lord Treasurer, dated Jan. 12, 1685-6, Vol. I. p. 5.

*kingdom.** In a letter to Lord Sunderland, dated Oct. 2, 1686, his lordship says, "*scarcity of people is the greatest want this kingdom has; and many do daily go away.*"† Had Sir W. Petty's computation been below the truth, the want of people could not have been so striking: for, according to that computation, there were somewhat more than forty persons to every square mile in Ireland.

There is however a discoverable coincidence between the computation of Sir William Petty and the apparently more accurate one of Captain South, sufficient to give the latter, if indeed it stood in need of it, additional authority. For according to the opinion of the former, the increase by generation, under the circumstances affecting the population of Ireland when he wrote, could not have been more than about 120,000 souls in twenty-three years, had internal tranquillity prevailed; and consequently the population of that country could not, in such case, have amounted in 1695 to more than about 1,220,000. Now we certainly can find no difficulty in supposing, that by the bloody war of the revolution, by the political vexations which preceded it, and which occa-

* Vol. II. page 9. † Vol. II. page 18.

sioned the departure of a multitude of Protestant families, many of whom probably did not return until after the year 1695; and by the utter discomfiture of King James, and the measures which succeeded that event, occasioning the flight of a multitude of Roman Catholics, none of whom ever returned;—the population of Ireland sustained a loss of upwards of 185,898 souls. And in such case, we must perceive a perfect coincidence between the computation of Sir Wm. Petty, in 1672, which made the inhabitants of Ireland amount in that year to 1,100,000, and the computation of Captain South in 1695, which shewed their number to be, in that year, 1,034,102.

And here it seems proper to observe, that if any addition be made to Captain South's number, under a persuasion of its being short of the truth; of which, however, no proof that I know of can be produced, a very considerable addition may be made to the return of 1791, (the last that has appeared) under the sanction of the opinion of the Inspector-General of hearth-money, who declared to the writer of these pages, that there was no truth of which he was more thoroughly convinced, than that the return alluded to should have comprised a much greater number of houses exempt from the

hearth-tax than it did. This indeed will be evident hereafter.

The next account of the population of Ireland, which has fallen under my observation, is a return of the number of inhabitants in each parish, in the year 1731, made by the parochial clergy, in consequence of an order of the House of Lords. Of the accuracy of this return, which by the way exhibits also the numeral proportion of the Protestants and Roman Catholics, there seems not sufficient reason to doubt. Nor though it announces a very short period of doubling, has it the least tendency to discredit the computation of Captain South: for, during the short period from 1695 to 1731, the increase of people in Ireland must have been unusually great. Between these two years, the greater part of the Irish protestant families who had withdrawn before and during the war, returned. A considerable number of English protestants went over to, and settled in, that country: as did also many families of French Hugonots. Tillage, as appears by the returns, cited on a former occasion, was pursued with ardour anterior to the year 1720. In short, Ireland may be said to have been then in the condition of an infant nation: and "les peuples naissans, says the President Montesquieu,

se multiplient & croissent beaucoup." It was then, upon the whole, not much less favourably circumstanced for an increase of people than America: yet the return of 1731 does not indicate a doubling under 38 years; while the enumerations made in New England manifest a doubling in 25 years, though according to Dr. Price, more had left than went to that province.

How many returns of houses were made by the collectors of hearth money, subsequently to the year 1731, I have not been able to learn. The only ones which have been made public, are those of 1754, 1767, 1777, 1785, 1788, and 1791. These, however, will be sufficient for our present purpose. A greater number indeed would be superfluous.

By Captain South's computation, it appears as before noticed, that in the year 1695, the number of the inhabitants of Ireland was. . 1,034,102
By the return of 1731 it appears that they amounted, in that year, to. . . . . 2,010,221

| The number of houses returned in | | The number of inhabitants at 6 to each house. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1731, was | 395,439 | | 2,372,634 |
| 1767, | 424,640 | | 2,544,276 |
| 1777, | 448,426 | | 2,690,556 |
| 1785, | 474,322 | | 2,845,932 |
| 1788, | *650,000 | | 3,900,000 |
| 1791, | †701,102 | | 4,206,612 |

* Including Mr. Bushe's addition for detected omissions.

† A return of houses, purporting to be a return made in

By the following tabular arrangement of these materials, we shall be enabled to make a sufficient discovery of the general progress of

the year 1792, appears this year in the Dublin Almanacs, having been substituted for the return prepared for Parliament in the year 1791, and which held its place in the Almanacs from that year to the present.

That various expedients have been occasionally resorted to for the purpose of concealing the real magnitude of the population of Ireland, is a fact which has not escaped observation; and with which the writer of these pages has been impressed. To detect the motives of those who endeavour to mislead the public with regard to the population of Ireland, would be a very easy, but perhaps a very useless, unseasonable, and, no doubt, a very invidious task. That such practices are equally disgraceful and impolitic, no unbiassed and reflecting man will hesitate to affirm. They have an obvious tendency to induce wrong or defective measures in various cases. Whether the substitution of the return at present under consideration for that which was laid before Parliament, be an expedient for misrepresenting the population of Ireland, is a question which I leave to the decision of others. That it was calculated to mislead the uninquisitive alone (who by the way constitute a great majority of every community) a few words will sufficiently evince. I must however previously notice one circumstance, which to a certain degree may have had the effect of disposing some intelligent people in this country to rely on this supposititious return as authentic; and that is, the decline of the produce of the hearth-tax in 1793: a tax which every political arithmetician would naturally consult on the subject of population. And it was perhaps this very circumstance which

population in Ireland, throughout the last century, according to the returns which have been made: and having done so, we shall find

prompted the author of the return to select the preceding year. The diminished produce of the tax in 1793, was not however occasioned by a decrease of people, during the year before; but by extending an exemption from that tax to a much greater number of people than had formerly enjoyed it; an extension whereof the benefits having been experienced by the poor alone, was little noticed by, and almost unknown to others. Had the author of the spurious return, which has been permitted to hold a place in the almanac of this year, made his number of houses conformable to the diminution of the produce of the hearth-tax, such number would have been about one-tenth less than the number returned to Parliament; or not more than about 626,000, instead of 677,115 as he stated, the produce of the tax having sunk from £77,358 to £69,507. But that number would have fallen so very short of the number of houses *demonstrated* to have been in Ireland, in 1791, and even of the number discovered by Mr. Bushe three years before, that the author of the return alluded to probably thought, notwithstanding the auxiliary diminution of the produce of the hearth-tax, that it would require somewhat more credulity than he could expect to find either in this country or Ireland, to believe in such an unprecedented decrease of people. Even as the case stands at present, he will be found to have relied a little too much on the credulity of his fellow subjects.

According to his statement there were only 677,115 houses in Ireland, in the year 1792, or 23,987 less than that country appeared to contain the year before, according

it no difficult matter, with the aid of other documents, to arrive at a competent knowledge of its present magnitude; and to form a rational

to the very circumstantial return laid before Parliament; giving an account not only of the number of houses in Ireland, but of the number of hearths contained in each; and by which the payable amount of the hearth-money, and the deficiencies in the payments of the several collectors of it were ascertained. Are we to believe that in one year, and that a year in which every circumstance notoriously conduced, in a most signal manner, to a rapid multiplication of people, 23,987 houses were either deserted or fell into a state of dilapidation? Are we to believe that such an extraordinary, such a miraculous event took place the year before the Roman Catholics, constituting the great body of the people, obtained the elective franchise; and were taught by persons, then high in office, to expect an equitable participation of all the benefits of the constitution? Are we to believe that the province of Ulster, in which the linen manufacture was in a most flourishing state, (the average of seven years export, ended in 1798, being 9,178,060 yards more than that of seven years ended in 1791,) experienced *in one year*, a decrease of 8,079 houses, or, allowing six persons on an average to each 48,474 people, or almost twice the number which that province lost during three years, when emigrations to America were at their greatest height, in consequence of a temporary decline of the linen manufacture? Are we to believe that the province of Munster, containing the annually enlarging towns of Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Clonmel, Carrick, Yougbal, and others, and from whence chiefly, in consequence of a most rapid extension of tillage, there were exported in 1798, as

conjecture respecting its future increase; at least within a short period of time; provided

appear by the custom-house books, 730,065 barrels of wheat and oats, experienced, as appears by this spurious return, a decrease of 8,977 houses or 53,862 people *in one year?* Are we to believe that the year 1792 was marked by a decrease of population, while we possess no reason for believing that any former year was so? Are we to believe that a decrease of people happened in that year, when according to Mr. Young the increase of people was manifestly rapid throughout Ireland, under circumstances, beyond all comparison, less favourable to an increase of people than those of the year 1792? Are we to believe that in the counties of Cork and Waterford, containing 1,311,600 acres, Irish measure, or constituting about one-ninth part of Ireland, there was not a single house erected, or pulled down or deserted in 12 months, while, in all other parts, there was a very considerable change: or that the houses built corresponded to an unit with those demolished? Are we to believe that in the county of Galway there were 3,944 houses built *in one year,* or that its population increased so as to double in about seven years, while the number of houses in all the neighbouring counties decreased in the same period of time? Limerick, according to this statement, lost 184 houses, Clare 654, Roscommon 1,020, Tipperary 90, and Mayo 1,713. Can any one, who knows the circumstances of the counties of Limerick and Galway, believe that the former lost 184 houses in the same year in which the latter experienced an increase of 3,944? Are we to believe that the population in every county of the province of Ulster, except that of Londonderry, sustained a loss? Are we to believe that that of Down, which Mr. Dubourdieu tells us in his statistical survey doubled in 40

no material change for the worse takes place

years, did so? Are we to believe that that of Antrim, which has increased at least as rapidly, did so?

Mr. Young tells us, on the information of the greatest improver, and one of the most intelligent and respectable gentlemen of his day, (Lord Chief Baron Foster,) that, exclusive of towns, there appeared to be one family to every ten acres in the county of Louth.* That county comprises 111,180 Irish acres; and consequently, according to the information of the Lord Chief Baron, must have contained in the year 1777, 11,118 families, exclusive of those residing in towns, in number probably not less than 2,000, making altogether 13,118, or 1,573 more than there were, according to this statement, in 1792, 11,545 being the number of houses which that county is represented to have contained in that year. Can any intelligent Irishman be brought to believe that such a decrease took place in a county still flourishing under the auspices of a Foster? Can any rational man believe that the county of Louth lost, in one year, 1,287 houses, or 7,722 people; or about one-tenth of its population, while its chief town, for such Drogheda, though properly speaking a county in itself, may be considered, was increasing so as to double in less than 16 years? Will any one suppose that the hearth-money collectors returned more houses than were in reality in Ireland, in 1791? It is an indisputable fact that they did not return the whole number. Had they returned more than were in existence, they would have contributed proportionately to the exigencies of the state; being chargeable with two shillings for every hearth which they returned, except those belonging to paupers; of whose houses any one who will duly consider the return of 1791,

* Tour, Vol. I. p. 151.

in the circumstances affecting the population of that country.

must be perfectly well satisfied that they could not have returned within at least 50,000 of the existing number.

Thus much has been said merely to shew that the person who amused himself in making out the fallacious statement of houses in the almanac, counted upon a greater stock of credulity among his fellow subjects than he had a right to expect. To justify the rejection of this statement it was perfectly unnecessary to have said more than these few words, that, *in fact*, no return of houses whatsoever was made to Parliament for the year 1792; nor, as far as I have been able to discover in the appendixes of the Commons Journals, any general return subsequent to that of the year 1791, which was laid before Parliament on the 22d of March 1792.

| | Years | Population. | Period. | Increase. | Average annual increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| From 1695 .. 1,034,102 .. To.. | 1731.. | 2,010,221..... | 36 Years. | 976,119.. | 27,114 |
| | 1754.. | 2,372,634..... | 59..... | 1,338,532.. | 22,687 |
| | 1767.. | 2,544,276..... | 72..... | 1,510,174.. | 20,974 |
| | 1777.. | 2,690,556..... | 82..... | 1,656,454.. | 20,200 |
| | 1785.. | 2,845,932..... | 90..... | 1,811,830.. | 20,131 |
| | 1788.. | 3,900,000..... | 93..... | 2,865,898.. | 30,816 |
| | | 16,363,619 | | | |

| | Years | Population. | | | | Average annual increase. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| From | 1695.. | 1,034,102..... | 96..... | 3,172,510.. | | 33,046 |
| | 1731.. | 2,010,221..... | 60..... | 2,196,391.. | | 36,606 |
| | 1754.. | 2,372,634..... | 37..... | 1,833,978.. | | 49,567 |
| | 1767.. | 2,544,276..... | 24..... | 1,662,336.. | | 69,264 |
| | 1777.. | 2,690,556..... | 14..... | 1,516,056.. | | 108,289 |
| | 1785.. | 2,845,932..... | 6..... | 1,360,680.. | | 226,780 |
| | 1788.. | 3,900,000..... | 3..... | 306,612.. | | 102,204 |
| | ..... | To.. 1791.. 4,206,612 | | | 13) | 767,678 |
| | | 17,397,721 | | | | 59,052 |
| | | 16,363,619 | | | | |
| | | 13)33,761,340 | | | | |
| | | 2,597,025 | | | | |

Average stock.... 2,597,025
Average ann. increase 59,052
Period of doubling 44 years.

By adding together the numbers in the columns of population, and dividing the total by 13, being the number of periods in the table, we find the average stock of people, in Ireland, throughout the last century, to have been 2,597,025. By proceeding, in like manner, with the numbers in the column of annual increase, we find the average annual increase suited to the average stock of people to have been 59,052; which, being multiplied by 44, will produce 2,598,288; or 1,263 more than the average stock; and, of course, shew the average period of doubling to be somewhat less than 44 years. By comparing the number of people in Ireland, in 1695, according to Captain South's computation, with the number in 1791, according to the return of that year, we find the average period of doubling to be 47 years. But, in such case, it is evident that the comparative tardiness of the progress of population in that country, anterior to the year 1777, is not sufficiently compensated by its comparative celerity posterior to that year. Let us, however, take the medium between both, which is 45½: or, to keep still more below the truth, let us take whole numbers, and assume that the population of Ireland doubles in 46 years. That it actually does so within a shorter

period, will I think be sufficiently manifest when the more substantial proofs of its increase shall come to be considered.

But before we employ the instrument thus obtained, in order to discover the number of people now in Ireland, it seems necessary to say a few words on the propriety of our doing so.

The progress of population in every country must necessarily be proportionate, in point of celerity, to the number and efficacy of the circumstances by which it is affected. Such of these as are of a moral nature, undergo, like all political circumstances, important changes in the course of time. In one period, those causes which conduce to accelerate the increase of people are more numerous, in another, less so, than those which tend to restrain it. Sometimes the progress of population is furthered by no other means than the agency of one or two of the principal causes of a rapid multiplication of people: sometimes by no other than the various subordinate or auxiliary causes thereof: sometimes by the conjunct operation of both the principal and auxiliary ones: and sometimes it is rendered stationary by the equipollence of adverse and propitious circumstances. Accordingly we find that the increase of people in all

countries, ancient and modern, has been subject to considerable variations.

The circumstances which affected the progress of population in this country from the Norman conquest to the Revolution were extremely different from those by which it has been latterly affected.

The existing circumstances of the time in which Mr. Gregory King wrote were such as to create in him an opinion that the next doubling would not happen before the lapse of 600 years, viz. in the year 2,300: when, according to him, England would contain eleven millions of people. But under more favourable circumstances we have seen that the inhabitants of this country, now amounting to about nine millions and a half, have increased so as to leave no room to doubt of their exceeding eleven millions before the expiration of the present century; or 400 years sooner than Mr. King computed. The average annual marriages, it is well known, hold a greater proportion to numbers than they did in Mr. King's time; and I think we have sufficient reason to expect that they will continue to do so. It is to be observed, however, that among the more intelligent of Mr. King's contemporaries, the prevailing opinion was, that he had considerably under-rated the

population of this country. Sir Wm. Petty differed from him both with respect to the magnitude of the population and the length of the period of doubling; and appears to have been, in these particulars, more happy in his computations. He computes the number of inhabitants to be about seven millions, and the period of doubling 360 years, "according, as he says, to the present laws and practices of marriages."* The increase of people in this country during the last 30 or 40 years, affords a prospect of their doubling their number in a period incomparably shorter even than that which Sir Wm. Petty allowed.

The circumstances which affected the progress of population in Ireland, during the seventeenth century, were extremely different from those by which it was affected during the last century; but particularly during the last 25 or 30 years. Under the former, as may be inferred from an incidental observation of Sir William Petty, it seems to have been that gentleman's opinion (I know not how grounded) that the people of that country did not increase so as to double in less than about 200 years, even though exempt from plagues and wars.

* Political Arithmetic, p. 106.

So that had Ireland continued under its then circumstances, its population, conformable to his opinion, would not, at this day, have amounted to two millions, though it had received no check from wars, plagues, or emigrations. Whereas we find, by such documents as cannot possibly lead us beyond the truth, that notwithstanding prodigious emigrations, it increased, under a change of circumstances, so as to double *twice* in less than 96 years.

The circumstances, then, which affect the progress of population being for the most part different either in nature, number or efficacy, at different periods, the surest way to avoid error in computing the increase of people, during any period in which we are reduced to the necessity of computing, is obviously to search for, and ground our computations on, their authenticated increase, during some antecedent period of equal extent, and distinguished by the existence of circumstances analogous to those which have affected, and are likely to affect, the progress of population during the period before us. Similar causes will undoubtedly, in cases of this nature, produce similar effects. If we ground our computations of the increase of people, during any period, on their authenticated increase, during a period of much

less or much greater extent, we shall probably fall into error; because though the circumstances of the period we select may be perfectly apposite, yet the effects produced by such circumstances may be extremely different in long and short periods. This needs no illustration. If we ground our computation on periods, distinguished by circumstances more favourable to population, than those of the period about which we are concerned, we must necessarily exceed, if on periods marked by circumstances less favourable, we must necessarily fall short of the truth.

In the present instance, it is utterly impossible to pursue that method which is most likely to keep us free from error; as there is no period in the Table which, taken singly, can be employed, with effect, to ascertain the progress of population in Ireland since 1791, and onwards to the year 1837. Some periods are confessedly too short, as that from 1788, or that from 1785 to 1791. Others are distinguished by circumstances extremely different from those which have affected the population of Ireland since the latter year; as for instance that from 1731 to 1788: about four-fifths of which were marked by the most exhausting emigrations. The progress of population, during other pe-

riods, is evidently misrepresented by the detected deficiencies of the returns: in some cases appearing too rapid; as from 1777 to 1791; in other cases, appearing too tardy, as from 1754 or 1767 to 1777, or 1785. It therefore only remained for us to combine, as has been, all the different returns, and extract from them an average population and a correspondent average annual increase. And this perhaps is as likely a mode of avoiding error as any other: for the brevity of one period seems thus sufficiently compensated by the length of another; the deficit of one return sufficiently compensated by the apparent excess of another; and the loss sustained by war, rebellion, and two years of scarcity, since 1791, sufficiently countervailed by the loss which was occasioned by emigrations anterior to 1775.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Of the Considerations which warrant a Presumption that the Population of Ireland doubles in 46 Years; and of the actual Magnitude of the Population of that Country.*

THAT we shall not exceed the truth in taking 46 years as the period in which the population of Ireland doubles, will be manifest from what follows; and abundantly so hereafter. The amount of the hearth-money payable on the 21st of January, 1783, was, as reported by Lord Sheffield, £61,309 13*s.* 11*d.** The produce of the hearth-tax in the year ended 25th of March 1792 (the year before the first alteration took place) was, as appears by the Commons Journals, £77,358. Hence it appears, that the produce of the hearth-tax did increase more than one-fourth in nine years; and of course it should seem that the population did so likewise; and if so, that the latter increased so as to double in about 36 years: or, according to Doctor Price's accurate method

* Observations, &c. p. 351.

of computing the period of doubling, in a much shorter space of time. But of this more hereafter.

The number of new houses returned in 1788, was 18,824; the number returned, in 1791, was 21,868; being an increase of 3,044* in three years; or an average annual increase of about 1,014. At this rate, the new houses increased so as to double in little more than 18 years. And as the new houses, after deducting from them a suitable number to replace the old ones which annually fall into decay, may be supposed to be commensurate with the increase of people, we might, from the foregoing returns, infer that the inhabitants of Ireland increased so as to double in a much shorter period than 36 years. But as what was before observed, affords us sufficient reason to suspect that both of these returns were defective; and as we cannot say which was the most so, we must decline drawing any conclusion from a comparison of them. Besides, it is difficult to determine what proportion the new houses bear to the old ones which fall into decay. Mr. Bushe supposed that about 9,000 of the new

* There were 15,023 houses, in which the number of hearths was not ascertained, when the return was made. Possibly some of them were new ones.

houses returned in the year 1788, went to replace the old ones which ceased to be habitable. This, with deference to his superior judgment, I cannot help considering as a very extravagant allowance. If it be just, then one house in about 69 falls into decay every year; or the houses in Ireland do not, one with another, last longer than about 69 years.

Houses built with brick or stone, will certainly, one with another, last 100 years at least. In this country, we meet with very many houses of the middle, or even below the middle class, in point of solidity of construction, which appear to have stood for more than 200 years. As to mud wall cabins, their duration may not exceed 40 or 50 years. But it may be considered as certain, that very few, if any of this description of habitations, were included in the return of new houses. Besides, so long as the walls are able to support even half the roof, the poor Irish will continue to dwell in them.

There is another consideration at hand to prove that in taking 46 years, as the period of doubling, we are not likely to exceed the truth. It was before observed, that a great addition might be made to the return of 1791. If such addition can be shewn to exceed in proportion

any addition that can rationally be made to Captain South's number, the increase of people must appear to have been more rapid throughout the last century than has been stated; and, of course, the period of doubling must appear to be shorter than that which has been assumed. The number of houses inhabited by paupers returned in 1785 was 23,344. The number returned in 1788 was 84,679. This is sufficient to evince the extreme negligence of the collectors of hearth-money. The number of houses of the same description, returned in 1791, was 112,556, a number which Mr. Wray considered as little more than half the number then existing; and which we are authorised, by the demonstrated negligence of the collectors, and by other considerations, to regard as infinitely below the truth. Out of 1,300,000 houses, in this country, in the year 1696, Mr. Gregory King computed that 330,000, or upwards of one-fourth part, belonged to persons receiving alms, and 380,000 to those who did not pay to church or poor.* The people exempt in Ireland from the hearth-tax, in the year 1791, on account of poverty, were, "those

* National and Political Observations of Gregory King, Esq. Chalmers's Estimate, Supplement, p. 59.

who lived upon alms, and were not able to get their livelihood by work; and widows who did not inhabit a house of greater value than eight shillings by the year; or did not occupy lands of the value of eight shillings by the year; or had not goods and chattels to the value of four pounds."* Now I think there can be no doubt, that these descriptions of people were, in proportion, at least as numerous in Ireland, in 1791, if not much more so, than those who received alms, in this country, in 1696: and of course that their houses did, in reality, constitute at least one-fourth part of the total number of houses in Ireland in 1791, instead of about one-seventh part, as appears on the face of the return. And a very accurate survey, with which I have been favoured, of the population of the parish of Tullow, including the town of that name, in the county of Carlow, tends as strongly, as a particular instance can, to shew that such was the case. By this survey it appears, that in that parish there were, in the year 1795, 228 pauper families out of 1,009. We may then I think safely venture to add at least fourscore thousand houses to the number returned in 1791 (in making

* Treatise on the Exchequer and Revenue of Ireland, by G. E. Howard, Esq. Vol. I. p. 90.

which addition we are moreover sanctioned by the opinion of the Inspector-General of hearth-money) and adopting Mr. Bushe's average allowance of 5½ to the houses of paupers, compute that there were 416,000 people in Ireland more than we could infer from the returns, or in all 4,622,612, instead of 4,206,612. In this case, we should find the period of doubling, throughout the century, abridged, though we swelled Captain South's number up to Sir Wm. Petty's. Doctor Price (I know not on what grounds) supposes the houses in Ireland excused from the hearth-tax, to have been one-third of the whole.* They certainly must have been more than *one-seventh* in 1791. If they were not, there was less poverty in Ireland than here: which I apprehend is not perfectly consonant with the prevailing opinion on that point. To this a further addition might be made, as Mr. Gregory King allowed no fewer than 40,000 houses for frauds, omissions and defaults.

Besides it may, I think, be questioned whether the full amount of the population of the metropolis has as yet been ascertained. The number of houses in its district, returned to

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, vol. II. p. 204.

Mr. Bushe, in 1788, was 14,327, which, at 8 on an average to each house, gave only 114,616 souls: a number greatly short of that which Dublin was then supposed to contain. The number returned in 1791 does not appear separate from the aggregate number of the houses in Ireland. The number returned last August from 32 of the 52 districts into which Dublin was divided for the better preservation of the peace, was 10,638, which gave 332 on an average to each district.* If the same average

* The writer of these pages could not when in Ireland last August obtain a greater number of the district returns than the following:

| | Houses. |
|---|---|
| 1. Aughrim | 410 |
| 2. St. Michans's | 396 |
| 3. North Division | 146 |
| 4. Dorset-street | 129 |
| 5. Linen Hall | 183 |
| 6. King's Inns | 609 |
| 7. St. Mary's | 401 |
| 8. Rutland Square | 159 |
| 9. Mountjoy Square | 245 |
| 10. Gloucester Place | 272 |
| 11. St. Thomas | 314 |
| 12. Marlborough Green | 125 |
| 13. Custom-house | 66 |
| 14. North Lotts | 187 |
| 15. Merrion Square | 290 |

number be found in each of the other 20 districts, then the whole number of houses in Dublin, according to these returns, will be 17,278, which, at 8 on an average to a house, will give a population of 138,224, which is also a smaller number than Dublin was generally believed to contain 20 years ago, and yet I know of no sufficient reason for doubting the accuracy of these district returns. By Wilson's Directory, it appears that there are, in the city and suburbs of Dublin, 658 streets, squares,

| | Houses. |
|---|---|
| 16. Fitzwilliam Square | 174 |
| 17. Stephen's Green | 77 |
| 18. Harcourt-street | 487 |
| 19. Powerscourt | 694 |
| 20. St. Anne's | 435 |
| 21. Trinity College | 406 |
| 22. King William's | 549 |
| 23. Castle | 746 |
| 24. St. Peter's | 376 |
| 25. St. Catherine's | 646 |
| 26. Christ Church | 532 |
| 27. St. James' Gate | 234 |
| 28. Marrow-bone Div. | 241 |
| 29. City Bason | 187 |
| 30. Royal Hospital & Kilmainham | 179 |
| 31. Spring Garden | 345 |
| 32. Sandy Mount | 399 |

quays, alleys, courts, &c. By the numbers opposite the merchants' and traders' names, we may perceive that of these streets, &c.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | contains upwards of | | 200 houses. |
| 1 | do. | do. | 180 do. |
| 6 | do. | do. 150 each, | 900 do. |
| 2 | do. | do. 130 do. | 260 do. |
| 9 | do. | do. 100 do. | 900 do. |
| 8 | do. | do. 80 do. | 640 do. |
| 19 | do. | do. 70 do. | 1330 do. |
| | | | 4410 |

If we allow but 25 on an average to each of the remaining 613 streets, &c. the total number will be 19,735, giving a population of 157,790, which perhaps is nearer the truth than the population last-mentioned.

It appears by Sir Wm. Petty's table, that there were 6025 houses in Dublin, in the year 1682;* and it can scarcely be doubted that the increase was greater than 8,302 in 106 years, ended in 1788, especially as it appears by the returns alluded to by the same writer, that the increase from 1671 to 1682 was 2,175; or even as he computes from the burials (suspecting fraud or defects in the return of the former year) 1,293;

* Political Arithmetic, p. 127.

or upwards of 117, on an average each year; at which rate, there must have been, in 106 years, 12,402 houses added to the number in 1671, viz. 3,850, making together 16,252. But as the housing of Ireland has increased with infinitely greater rapidity since, than about Sir William's time, it is likely that the increase of houses in Dublin has also been quicker: the consideration of all which will lead us to suspect that the return of 1788 was much below the truth.

The computation formed on the returns from the 32 districts, is probably still more below the truth than the return of 1788, as it shows an increase of only 2,951 houses in 16 years; or such an increase as would not produce a duplication in a shorter period than 78 years: which is 38 years longer than the period in which London was found to double by Sir Wm. Petty;* and 45 years longer than the period in which the people of Dublin would have doubled had they increased since 1682, as from 1671 to that year, which it is more than probable they did. I know at least of no good reason that can be assigned for the contrary.

But independently of the consideration of probable deficiencies in the different returns of

* Political Arithmetic, p. 103.

the houses in Dublin, I apprehend we have already found sufficient reason to suspect that the return of 1791, was with regard to the untaxable houses, extremely incomplete; and I do not perceive how the increase by generation from 1672 to 1695 can be so amplified, or the losses occasioned by the war of the revolution and its attendant political vexations so diminished, as to swell Captain South's number in the same proportion as the number deducible from the return of 1791 may be fairly augmented; and consequently I must continue to consider 40 years as a longer period than that which the population of Ireland requires to double: and I think it not unlikely that the reader will hereafter be disposed to concur with me in opinion.

That the progress of population in that country is thus rapid, will naturally be doubted, by those who have attended chiefly to the increase of people in this, and most other European countries; but it will not perhaps be readily disbelieved by those who have watched the late rapid increase of people in Russia: a country apparently not so favourably circumstanced as Ireland has, of late, been for an accelerated multiplication of people; and especially by those who have marked the singularly

rapid increase of population in America: a country which we know to be, upon the whole, by no means superior to Ireland with regard to the circumstances which tend to promote the increase of people.

"In the viceroyalty of Tweer in Russia, in 1780," says Dr. Price, (from the correct information of the transcendently benevolent, amiable, intelligent, and ever-to-be-lamented Howard,) "there died 4,315 males; 3,646 females; but there were born 11,948 males, and 9,013 females.

"In the eparchy of Vologda the deaths in the same year were 2,688 males, and 2,377 females. The births were 6,517 males, and 5,366 females.

"In both these provinces therefore the births were considerably more than double the deaths; and the increase must be rapid.

"At the beginning of the same year (1780) there were found in the district of Moscow 137,698 males, and 134,918 females; of whom died in the course of the year 2,101 males, and 1,601 females, or the 65th part of the males, and the 34th part of the females. But there were born in the course of the year 4,546 males, and 4,075 females, which added 5,919 (or a 46th part) to the inhabitants; and the

number of inhabitants accordingly actually counted at the end of the year, was 140,143 males, and 137,392 females."*

"In the year 1738," says the same able calculator, "the number of inhabitants in New Jersey was taken by order of the government, and found to be 47,369. Seven years afterwards the number of inhabitants was again taken; and found to be increased by *procreation only*, above 14,000. In 22 years therefore they must have doubled their own number.† The original number of persons who in 1643, had settled in New England, was 21,200. *Ever since it is reckoned that more have left them than have gone to them.* In the year 1760 they were increased to half a million. They had therefore all along doubled their own number in 25 years."‡

By a census taken in the year 1790, there appeared to be in the United States 3,929,326 people, exclusive of slaves, and by another census taken in the year 1800 there appeared to be with the same exclusion 5,214,801. The population of America therefore had in *ten* years experienced an increase of 1,285,475, or

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. p. 205.

† Ibid. Vol. II. p. 50. ‡ Ibid. Vol. II. p. 51.

increased so as to double in less than thirty-one years, according to the mode of computation which I have adopted; but in a shorter space, according to that of Dr. Price.

Now it is certain that the circumstances of America are not, upon the whole, more favourable to a rapid increase of people than those of Ireland have been, during the last five and twenty years, if we except the late war, rebellion, and two years of scarcity. We learn from a very intelligent nobleman (the Duke de Rochefoucault) who lately travelled through the former country, and whose report respecting local insalubrity is confirmed by Mr. Volney, that several tracts of it are extremely insalubrious; so much so as to impair the health and abridge the lives of many of the inhabitants; and that the people of the United States are in the habit of emigrating to the British settlements in Canada. And we know that the fever has of late years made most dreadful ravages among them. From the 29th of July to the 29th of October 1803, as appears by the report, the deaths in New York occasioned by the *fever alone*, were 606. The average annual deaths in Dublin about the year 1680, when, as Sir William Petty computed, it contained

58,000 inhabitants, were 1,614,* being 195 per quarter less than occasioned in New York by the fever alone.

It might indeed be made to appear extremely probable, even without the assistance of all the various public documents which are at hand to establish the fact, that the population of Ireland has increased, since 1791, so as to afford a prospect of doubling in a shorter period than forty-six years.

A very intelligent gentleman, who made it his business to inquire into the progress of population in the county of Antrim, assured the writer of these pages, that it had increased upwards of one-third in ten years, anterior to 1802. Another gentleman, who some years ago collected, in different parts of Ireland a multitude of facts respecting population, holds forth reason to believe that, in other parts of that country, the increase of people was as rapid as in the county of Antrim. These however are little better than mere opinions; and opinions however authoritative can have but little weight in an enquiry of this nature. But the information conveyed by Mr. Dubourdieu, in his statistical survey of the county of Down,

* Political Ar. p. 133.

is very well worth attention. That gentleman says, that by an account which had been taken of the population of that county in the year 1751, it appeared to contain, in that year, 19,270 houses; and that by the returns to government, in 1791, it appeared to contain 38,351 houses, so that the population of that county had doubled in 40 years.*

That the population of the county of Down did, in reality, increase during 16 years, anterior to 1791, so as to double in a much shorter period than 40 years, we shall not be disposed to doubt, when we consider that during 24 years from 1751 it had been annually sustaining, like most if not all of the northern counties, a very considerable loss by emigration to America; and that Mr. Young did not, either in that county, or most of those which lie contiguous to it, remark any increase of people in 1777 and 1778, as he did in almost all other districts. This observation is in some degree confirmed by the increase of houses in Belfast, which lies on its borders. In 1757 that town appeared to contain 1,779 houses; in 1782, 2,026; in 1788, 2,641; in 1800, 3,053 houses; so that the houses did not increase one-fourth in

* Statistical Survey of Down, p. 243.

25 years from 1757, but increased one-half in 18 years, from 1782. In other parts of Ireland, the increase of people within these last five and twenty years, appears to have been still more rapid than in the north. The town of Drogheda, for instance, a town of considerable note in the time of Cromwell, and of which the increase was very inconsiderable until within these last five and twenty years, appears to have increased so as to double in about 15 years: the number of houses returned in 1788, being 1,731, and the number returned in the year 1800, being 3,087. Drogheda had no doubt the advantage of being situated in a county,* which, within these last thirty years, has thriven surprisingly under the auspices of two as great improvers, and as solicitous patriots as ever country was blessed with, the late Lord Chief Baron Foster, and his son, the present Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer. But in point of situation for trade, Drogheda is far surpassed by many towns in Ireland. The Barony of Imokilly too, and those parts of other baronies which lie contiguous to it in the county of Cork, have, if appearances may be relied on, doubled their population in less than five and twenty

* Drogheda, as before noticed, is properly speaking a town and county.

years, under the auspices of the venerable and munificent Earl of Shannon, whose chief pleasure, for a long series of years, seems to have consisted in forwarding agricultural and other useful improvements; and likewise under those of Mr. Fitzgerald, (at present one of the representatives of the county of Cork,) a gentleman whose sound, unvitiated, and masculine understanding, exemplary rectitude of heart, superior knowledge of rural economy, and invariable solicitude for the prosperity of his country, are well known. The town of Youghal, situated within the sphere of these gentlemen's exertions, appears to have increased one half in *twelve* years: the number of houses returned in the year 1788, being 830, and the number returned in the year 1800, being 1,223.

If then, as appears by public documents, which cannot possibly lead us beyond the truth, however they may lead us short of it, the population of Ireland did increase with considerable rapidity at a time when the trade of that country was fettered by a succession of impolitic and illiberal acts, originating in a paltry spirit of commercial jealousy; at a time when foreign officers were permitted and encouraged to inveigle away its inhabitants in thousands; at a time when tillage was restrained and pasturage

peculiarly encouraged; at a time, in short, when the government and the landlords of Ireland seemed to vie with each other in projects of depopulation; surely there can be no hesitation in believing that the progress of population in that country has been signally rapid since the final removal of every cause of a depopulating nature, and during the almost uninterrupted agency of every cause that has been considered as conducive to an accelerated multiplication of people. If the population of Ireland did increase when the general affairs of that country were very far from being in a prosperous state, must not its increase have been distinguished by extraordinary celerity since they assumed a different aspect; or during the time (to recur to the words of the last Speaker of Ireland,) in which "that country was rising in civilization, wealth, and manufactures in a greater proportion, and with a more rapid progress than any country of Europe." If, as Archdeacon Paley remarked, there was, "a considerable degree of population in Ireland under great defects of police, industry, and commerce,;"* might we not expect to find a surprising degree of popu-

* Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 488.

lation in that country since these defects have ceased to be observable.

If the population of Russia has increased so as to afford sufficient reason to expect a duplication of people in less than 46 years: if the population in some parts of America has doubled in 25, and, in others, in 22 years: if the general population of the United States has increased so as to double in less than 31 years, notwithstanding the periodical ravages of a pestilential distemper: if, according to Mr. Malthus, the natural tendency of population to increase be more than sufficient to double it in twenty-five years: if, according to Archdeacon Paley, population, under circumstances very favourable to subsistence, will double in twenty years: if, according to the opinions of many eminent writers, the havoc occasioned by wars, plagues, earthquakes and famines be speedily repaired, provided the principal causes of a rapid increase of people be not extinguished: and if the population, in several parts of Ireland, remote from each other, has been found to increase so as to double in considerably less than 40 years; is it too much to say that the general population of that country would have increased so as to double in 42 years, had not its progress been checked by

external war, rebellion, and two years of scarcity? And in deducting the average annual increase of four years, or 365,792 souls, is there not made a sufficient allowance for the losses occasioned by these calamitous events? During the last five and twenty years it is well known that the great body of the Irish people have, with the exception of two years, enjoyed plenty of food; and that Ireland has continued to be distinguished by frequency of marriage among all ranks of the community—and "the increase of people," says Arch-deacon Paley, "will always be proportioned to the degree in which these causes exist."* During the last five and twenty years, it is well known, that the highly salubrious climate of Ireland has undergone no change for the worse—and "people," says Sir William Temple, "are multiplied in a country by the temper of the climate favourable to generation, to health, and long life."† During the last five and twenty years, it is well known, that, with the exception of the rigorous measures occasioned by the rebellion, the people of Ireland have enjoyed the blessing of a mild and equitable government,—

* Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 485.

† Vol. III. p. 7.

and "if every thing else be equal," says Mr. Hume, "it seems reasonable to expect that where there are the wisest institutions and the most happiness, there will also be the most people."* During the last five and twenty years it is well known that there has been a very great and continually increasing demand for labour in Ireland—and "a continually increasing demand for labour," says Dr. Adam Smith, "must necessarily encourage in such a manner, the marriage and multiplication of labourers as may enable them to supply that continually increasing demand by a continually increasing population."† During the last five and twenty years, it is well known, that the wealth and consequent luxury of the higher orders, in Ireland, has greatly increased; that the peculiar simplicity of the mode of living of the inferior orders has continued to prevail; and that their industry has been growing as remarkable as their former slothfulness; and "that condition," says Archdeacon Paley, "most favourable to population is the condition of a frugal and industrious people ministering to the demands of an opulent luxurious na-

* Essays, Vol. I. Essay 11.

† Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 81.

tion."* During the last five and twenty years, it is well known, that there has been a considerable influx of people from Great Britain into Ireland, in consequence of a demand, in the latter country, occasioned by its regenerated state, for persons more conversant in several branches of business than were to be found there. And during the last five and twenty years, it is equally well known, that no events of a depopulating nature have occurred except an external war, a transitory rebellion, and two years of scarcity: all of which probably did not occasion a greater loss of people than was supplied by generation in less than four years.—The direct loss by the rebellion, which lasted but two months, certainly did not exceed 15,000. Of his Majesty's Irish forces there fell about 1,600. Of the rebels, there were slain in the field, about 11,000, according to the accounts received, a few of which, by the way, were said to have been exaggerated; others probably fell short of the truth. About 400 loyal persons were massacred or assassinated, and about 2,000 rebels were exiled or hanged. The two years of scarcity did not probably occasion a greater loss of people than

* Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 491.

40,000. And I find it difficult to persuade myself that the war, considered in all its effects on population, occasioned so great a loss as 310,792. Ireland no doubt contributed largely, both in soldiers and seamen to the defence of the empire. Multitudes of Irish arms, no doubt, supported the throne of a King, deservedly beloved and venerated by millions of FREEMEN: and countless multitudes of Irish arms will yet support that throne, when filled, but we earnestly hope at a very distant period, by that illustrious and amiable Personage whose solicitude for the happiness of Ireland has endeared him beyond measure to its generous-hearted natives. Ireland was no doubt, during the last war, the great *officina militum*. In former times, its hardy and valiant natives, patient of hunger, wet and cold, were, with the *permission of government*, drawn off in thousands to recruit the armies of France; and, on one memorable occasion, at least,* were employed to tear the well-earned laurels from the brows of their former fellow-subjects, whom (to use the words of our immortal bard) they should have been taught "to hug to their hearts with hooks of steel." In former times, the

* Battle of Fontenoy.

natives of Ireland were not permitted to shed their blood in the defence of their king. Archbishop Boulter, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated March 11, 1726, suggests "the expediency of *granting permission to recruit in Ireland for the British army:* at the same time declining expressly to urge the extending of that permission to inlist any men but those *who could bring certificates of their being Protestants and that their families were also Protestants.*" But in latter times the services of Irishmen have been otherwise appreciated. It has been found by experience that Irish Roman Catholic soldiers will perform their appropriate duties with as much fidelity and alacrity as Protestant soldiers: and accordingly the natives of Ireland have at length come to constitute perhaps two-fifths of the disposable force of the empire, and are likely to constitute a much greater proportion. I cannot, however, believe that more than one hundred and twenty thousand Irish Roman Catholics, and about ten thousand Irish Protestants lost their lives in the course of last war in distant lands, in defence of our Constitution, Laws and Religion; and therefore cannot persuade myself that that war considered in all its effects, occasioned so great a loss as 310,792 souls.

—Under the impression then of these considerations, I confess I shall experience no ordinary degree of surprise on finding it satisfactorily proved that the inhabitants of Ireland have not increased within these last thirteen years so as to double in 46 years.

Assuming then, and relying on the aid of other documents to support the assumption that the population of Ireland has experienced, since the year 1791, an average annual increase of about 91,448 souls; or increased so as to afford a prospect of doubling in 46 years, I compute that there actually are in that country about 5,395,136 people. The method of computing the period of doubling, suggested and adopted by Dr. Price,* but not generally followed by others, is, no doubt, the most correct. In the present case it is evident that it cannot be employed. In order to supply the manifest deficiencies in some of the returns, and to make the circumstances of one period compensate for those of another, we have been under the necessity of extracting from the apparent average annual increase, in the different periods collectively taken, a certain number, as the average annual increase of an average stock

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. p. 50.

of people, extracted from the different numbers of the inhabitants of Ireland, as they appeared to be in each year, to and from which their increase has been marked. The increase of people in all cases where the circumstances affecting population are uniform in their operation, will, no doubt, be more rapid towards the close, than towards the beginning of any particular period. But the circumstances affecting the population of Ireland do not appear to have uniformly operated; and consequently the increase of people in that country may have been more rapid about the beginning, than about the end of one period and out of all proportion more rapid about the end, than about the beginning of another. Besides, if we were to take any number as the average annual increase, holding the same proportion to the number of people in Ireland, in 1791, as the number extracted from the apparent average annual increase of all the periods, collectively taken, did to the average stock of people, and proceed with it according to Dr. Price's method, we should abridge the period of doubling; and consequently make the actual population of Ireland appear greater than it has been represented or probably is. If the average annual excess of births above burials from the year

1777 to the year 1791, a period nearly equal in length to that before us, could be ascertained, which however it cannot, still we could not employ such excess, according to Dr. Price's mode, to discover the progress of the population of Ireland since the latter year; nor consequently its present magnitude; because the war, rebellion, and two years of scarcity occasioned great variations in the annual excess of births above burials since the latter year. After all, assumptions are arbitrary; and it will be recollected that relying on the production of satisfactory evidences of the increase and present magnitude of the population of Ireland, I have merely *assumed*, but not without being very well authorised, that it has experienced since 1791, an average annual increase of about 91,448 souls; and that consequently the number of people actually in that country is about 5,395,456.

But let us proceed to consider the trade of Ireland as far as it tends to illustrate the late progress and present magnitude of the population of that country; and in doing so I have no doubt we shall discover some unequivocal and decisive evidences of a most rapid increase of people; and of the actual existence of an extremely dense population.

## SECTION VII.

### *Of the Trade of Ireland, considered with Reference to the Increase of the Population of that Country.*

We have seen that the effects produced in Ireland, by the combined and almost continual agency of the principal causes of a rapid multiplication of people, were constantly, during about three-fourths of the last century, rendered in a considerable degree abortive by the perpetual and varied efflux of people, occasioned partly by the penal and disqualifying statutes which affected the Roman Catholics; and partly, but chiefly, by an insufficient demand for labour, owing to the contracted state of tillage in that country, and to the restrictions, and other measures, by which its external trade was fettered, and its internal trade depressed. We are now to consider the effects produced by a radical change of the circumstances which principally conduced to frustrate the rapid increase of its population.

First, then, let us take a general view of the

foreign trade of Ireland, as far as it seems connected with the recent increase of people in that country; secondly, consider separately such branches of it as denote an increasing demand for labour, and a consequent increase of people; and thirdly, examine such particulars of the import trade of consumption as demonstrate the late rapid increase of people, and exhibit the actual magnitude of the population of Ireland.

The following Table will afford us a sufficient view of the increase of the foreign trade of Ireland.

*Exports and Imports of Ireland. Official Value.*

| | | Exports. | Imports. | Excess of Expts. | | Exports. | Imports. | Excess of Expts. | Excess of Impts. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 25th March, | 1783 | £2,935,707 | 3,007,236 | 71,529 | 1795 | £4,751,334 | 4,143,296 | 608,038 | ..... |
| | 1784 | 3,400,049 | 3,343,031 | 57,018 | 1796 | 5,064,333 | 4,656,608 | 407,724 | ..... |
| | 1785 | 3,779,570 | 3,056,394 | 723,175 | 1797 | 4,570,765 | 4,436,943 | 133,822 | ..... |
| | 1786 | 4,012,018 | 3,430,628 | 581,590 | 1798 | 4,378,734 | 3,396,880 | 981,853 | ..... |
| | 1787 | 4,299,566 | 3,417,281 | 882,285 | 1799 | 4,593,915 | 4,393,015 | 200,900 | ..... |
| | 1788 | 4,407,910 | 3,870,114 | 536,865 | 1800 | 4,079,271 | 6,183,457 | ..... | 2,104,185 |
| | 1789 | 4,145,003 | 3,790,602 | 354,400 | 1801 | 3,819,062 | 5,584,596 | ..... | 1,765,554 |
| | 1790 | 4,855,299 | 3,829,914 | 1,025,385 | | | | | |
| | 1791 | 4,942,600 | 4,071,794 | 870,806 | 1802* | 4,403,247 | 5,006,457 | ..... | 603,210 |
| | 1792 | 5,387,760 | 4,338,012 | 1,049,748 | 1803* | 5,090,395 | 6,087,253 | ..... | 996,858 |
| | 1793 | 5,047,593 | 4,085,149 | 962,443 | 1804* | 4,770,388 | 5,275,650 | ..... | 505,262 |
| | 1794 | 4,665,162 | 3,216,405 | 1,448,757 | | | | | |

*Current Value. Excess of Exports.*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1803 | £8,571,412 | 7,654,113 ..... | £917,299 |
| 1804 | 8,241,787 ..... | | |

5th Jan.

Taken from the accounts laid before the Irish Exchange Committee, and from the Custom-house books of Ireland. The current value of the Imports of the last year was not estimated.

Had the late short peace continued, there can be little doubt that the exports and imports of the year ended on the 5th of January, 1804, would have at least equalled, if not considerably surpassed, those of the preceding year. And there is reason to presume, that, in consequence of the Union, the effects of peace on the foreign trade of Ireland would be at present much more conspicuous than formerly. With the foreign, the domestic trade of that country has certainly done much more than keep pace. The general domestic trade of a country must necessarily increase in proportion to its foreign trade; especially if the latter be a direct one, which is the case with Ireland. In fact, the Irish are not the carriers of even their own merchandise.* The general domestic trade of a country must also necessarily afford infinitely more employment to its people than its foreign trade; and this might be shewn to be particularly the case with Ireland. The porter and ale breweries, and whiskey distilleries alone, which have been surprisingly extended, the former

* Tonnage of Irish ships entered inwards and cleared outwards from 5th January 1802 to 5th January 1803, *as returned to Parliament*. . £199,320
Ditto of British ships employed in the trade of Ireland..... 1,018,081

indeed introduced, within these last twenty years, ultimately occasion, in all probability, as great an employment of people as all the articles which constituted the exports of Ireland 20 years ago.

The balance of trade (a subject, by the way, on which many eminent writers have employed their talents with but little advantage to the public) appears to have been almost uniformly in favour of Ireland during the last century. Within a period of sixteen years, immediately antecedent to the beginning of the present century, that country gained £10,824,609 by foreign trade: probably a vast deal more. A comparative view of the official value of the exports and imports, during the last five years, leads us to conclude that in that space of time it sustained a loss, by its foreign trade, amounting to £5,975,049. But there is sufficient reason to suspect that its loss was very far from being so great; nay that it gained instead of losing. If the *official* value of the exports and imports, in the year ended 5th January, 1803, be taken, the excess of the latter above the former will appear to be £996,858. But if the *real* or current value be taken, the excess of the *former* above the latter will be found to be £917,299. It is certain likewise, that consi-

derable quantities of very valuable merchandise (linen for instance) are annually exported from Ireland without being entered; and it is the opinion of a gentleman, who, of all others, is most competent to form a correct opinion on the subject, I mean the Inspector-General of Exports and Imports, that the exports of Ireland, the current value whereof was estimated last year at about 8 millions, fell but little short of eleven.* But though Ireland had in reality lately sustained a loss by her foreign trade, such loss, notwithstanding its gloomy appearance, could afford but little ground for despondency.

A great capital, we know, has been gradually accumulating in Ireland, with very little intermission, throughout the course of the last century; especially towards the close of it. By the necessarily diversified application of that capital, the general wealth of the country must certainly have been greatly augmented. The circumstances of all classes in the community must have been, in a greater or less degree, improved; and consequently their ability to purchase various commodities augmented. We know that within these last five-and-twenty

* The evidence of this gentleman, taken before the Irish Exchange Committee, will be found highly interesting, instructive, and perspicuous.

years the rent of land has doubled in most places, and trebled in many. We know that a vast number of superb country mansions, besides splendid town-houses, have been built within these last twenty years: a circumstance which clearly evinces a very great increase of wealth among the landlords of Ireland; and of course among their tenantry. We have sufficient reason to believe, notwithstanding appearances seem to bespeak the reverse, that very considerable sums of money have been amassed by persons chiefly concerned in agriculture. We know that traders of different descriptions have made great fortunes. We know that almost every species of labour is more than twice as highly rewarded in Ireland as it was about five-and-twenty years ago. In short, numberless facts might be adduced in proof of a great and general increase of wealth. The increased produce of the stamp-duties seems to indicate a very great increase of internal trade and wealth. On an average of three years, ended 25th of March, 1787, these produced..... £35,390

On an average of 5 years, do. 1798 88,459

And on an average of three years, ended 5th of January, 1804*.... 213,100

* From Returns made to Parliament.

The generality of the articles imported into Ireland, for home consumption, or for carrying on manufactures, denote by their increased quantity an increase of people, as well as an increase of wealth. There are two articles, however, among the imports of that country, which may be considered as indicative chiefly of wealth. I mean wrought plate and bullion. Of these there were imported from the year 1782 to the year 1800, 321,708¼ ounces, and exported, in that period, 16,538¼ ounces only.

If the commodities which a nation, grown opulent and populous, may require, cannot be satisfactorily supplied at home, they will of course be purchased abroad. In such case, the value of the goods imported may come to exceed that of those exported; and produce, for a short time, an unfavourable balance of trade. But an unfavourable balance of trade, thus originated, ought rather to be considered as an evidence of redundant wealth, than as a symptom of the decline of commercial prosperity, especially if the general commercial dealings of the country be increasing. Besides a progressive reduction of the national capital, consequent on an unfavourable balance of trade, must be of short duration. Few individuals will long continue their expences, under a diminution of

pecuniary resources; nations will never do so. "Though some particular men, says Dr. A. Smith, may sometimes increase their expense very considerably, though their revenue does not increase at all, we may be assured that no class or order of men ever does so; because though the principles of common prudence do not always govern the conduct of every individual, they always influence that of the majority of every class or order."* Moreover in a populous nation, which has thriven by commerce, and possesses, in abundance, the means of thriving, and in which industry and a spirit of enterprise prevail, and are encouraged, expedients will soon be devised to obstruct a further efflux of national wealth; and to acquire an equivalent for that which was lost. An increasing or extensive demand for foreign goods will act as a most powerful stimulus to industry at home. Natives will soon be allured by the gains of foreigners to engage in whatever projects or speculations may seem likely to afford them a participation of such gains, if not an exclusive enjoyment: and long before a diminution of national capital can be severely felt, a large proportion of it will be employed in opening new,

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 291.

or improving old sources of wealth; which may eventually have the effects of reversing the balance of trade, reimbursing the nation, and rendering it much more opulent than before. The cotton manufacture, for instance, which is of a very modern date in Ireland, seems likely, if we may judge from the prodigious increase in the importation of its raw materials, not only to check a very great efflux of wealth from that country, but greatly to augment its supplies of wealth from abroad. The cotton fabrics, the porcelain, and other manufactures of the East, the brandies of France, even the wines of Portugal, (with deleterious effect it is true) and various other articles, have been successfully imitated in this country, and vast sums of money thereby saved and gained.

It appears by the report of Doctor Davenant (Inspector-General of Exports and Imports) to the Commissioners for stating the public accounts, that, in the year ended in 1663, the balance of trade against England amounted to.....£1,093,207
And in the year ended in 1669, to..2,132,864*
The former of which was, in proportion, a much greater balance than was against Ireland

* Political and Commercial Works Vol. V. p. 376.

in any year since the commencement of the last century, even according to the official value. During these years, however, England was reported to be thriving by trade. The unfavourable balance was of short duration. In the year 1688, the balance of trade was doubtful. On an average of three years to 1702, the balance in favour of England exceeded one million. On an average of three years to 1728, it was between four and five millions. On an average of three years to 1751, it was between six and seven millions. In the year 1784, it fell to £52,209. During the four following years, it did not amount to a million. But in the year 1799, it rose beyond nine millions. And amounted to near eighteen millions in the year 1802.* During all this time, new manufacturers were annually extending, furnishing additional supplies for home consumption, and bringing in additional wealth from abroad.

In the Inspector-General's second report, he values the exports of England to all foreign parts in the year 1703, when the balance was favourable, at £6,644,103.† The value of the surplus produce of land and labour exported

* Mr. Chalmers's Chronological Account of Commerce, &c.

† Political and Commercial Works, Vol. V. p. 436.

from this country, on an average of ten years, from 1728 to 1738, was only £9,993,232.* The value of the exports of Ireland in the year ended 5th January 1793, was, according to the prices current, £8, 71,41..† And here it seems not amiss to observe, by the way, that in order to appreciate Ireland properly, we should not compare it, in respect of trade, revenue, or population, with England, as the latter now is, but as it was about a hundred years ago, when, though greatly inferior to what it now is, it held a most distinguished place among the nations of Europe.

The principal exports of this country in the time of Doctor Davenant, were woollen goods, corn, lead, tin, East-India goods, and Colonial produce. Those various manufactures which have since given employment to thousands, and proved the means of introducing such vast wealth, had not then the effect of augmenting the national capital. No manufacture, except the woollen, appears conspicuous among the exports of that period. Paper, wrought-silk, &c. were purchased in France; threads, iron-wire, &c. in Holland; and raw materials, now produced at home, such as hemp and madder,

* Mr. Chalmers's Estimate, &c. p. 115.

† Account laid before the Irish Exchange Committee.

were then imported from the latter country. The cotton, the potteries, the iron, the glass manufactures, &c. were then either not established, or in their infancy.

On an average of eleven years to 1710, the value of the corn exported from this country was only £274,141.* The value of the woollen goods exported in 1669 was £2,932,292.† And of the other articles exported, about that time, East-India goods and Colonial produce constituted about one-fifth part. The value of the exports of Ireland, according to the prices current, in the year ended 5th January 1804, was £8,241,487. The value of the provisions of all sorts included therein, was.. £3,954,154 (which was about three times the value of the provisions exported from America in the year ended 30th Sept. 1803,)

| | |
|---|---|
| The value of the linen was..... | 3,751,829 |
| Of the unmanufactured produce of the land..... | 284,372 |
| Of the produce of the land, in part manufactured..... .... | 186,412 |
| Of the foreign articles..... | 3,548 |

* Davenant's Political and Commercial Works, Vol. V. p. 425. † Ibid, p. 460.

| | |
|---|---|
| Of the articles of home manufacture, viz. Apparel, glass, hats, paper, stationary, gunpowder, ironmongers' ware, saddlers' ware, stockings, drapery, haberdashery, millinery ware, shoes and boots, &c. &c. | 61,172 |
| Total | 8,241,487* |

The vast superiority, in every respect, of the trade actually carried on by Ireland over that which was carried on by this country, about 100 years ago, is here sufficiently obvious. "That abundance of food (says Dr. Adam Smith) which, in consequence of the improvement of land, many people have the disposal of beyond what they themselves can consume, is the great cause of the demand both for the precious metals and precious stones, as well as for every other conveniency and ornament of dress, lodging, household furniture and equipage. Food, not only constitutes the principal part of the riches of the world, but it is the abundance of food that gives the principal part of their value to many other sorts of riches."†

The manufactures of Ireland which, with

* Extracted from the account laid before the Irish Exchange Committee.

† Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 179.

the exception of the linen, appear to yield at present very little for exportation, but which furnish considerable supplies for home consumption, will, no doubt, soon conduce to augment the national capital in a very great degree. In consequence of the pervasion of a spirit of enterprise in that country, the importation of some of the following articles, we may be assured, will soon decline, and that of others soon totally cease; and thus afford still greater room for the increase of its wealth. Apparel, beer, coachmakers' work, copper wrought, cottons manufactured, fish, earthen ware, glass, haberdashery, hats, iron wrought, leather tanned, stationary, stockings, upholstery, woollen goods, &c. all of which have of late, one year with another, cost Ireland upwards of a million and a half.

But the late balance of trade against Ireland, if indeed the balance was against her, seems to have been owing chiefly to transitory contingencies. To one of this nature, we may ascribe the decrease in the exportation of linen, from 46,705,373 yards in the year 1796, to 35,965,511 yards, on an average of seven years to the year 1803, by which Ireland sustained a loss amounting to £536,993. The exportation, however, rose again in the year ended 5th January 1804,

to 37,432,365 yards, and will probably soon attain its former magnitude.

The great army which has of late been employed in Ireland, consisting, one year with another, of upwards of 50,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry, with their followers, together with a rapidly increasing population, must necessarily have occasioned a very great diminution of the exportation of all sorts of provisions. The wealth of that country, however, has not been thereby diminished. On the contrary, the demands of that army, and of that increasing population, have afforded the greatest encouragement to agriculture, the paramount and most permanent source of wealth. And notwithstanding an increase of consumers at home, we may soon expect to hear of as great exportations of provisions from Ireland, if not greater, than at any former period.

In the year ended 25th March 1790, there were exported 53,521 barrels of barley. But so great were the increasing demands of the breweries and distilleries, that, notwithstanding the quantity of barley grown in Ireland was immense, the exportation, in the year ended 25th March 1797, was reduced to a single barrel.* These demands, however, occasioned such a great cultivation of barley, that, although

they continued to increase, the exportation amounted, the following year, to 48,369 barrels. During the years of scarcity which ensued, the exportation was of course discontinued; but rose again, notwithstanding an unusually great exportation of spirits, from 12,676 barrels in the year ended 5th of January 1803, to 32,867 in the following year.*

In like manner, probably, will the exportation of all other sorts of provisions increase, notwithstanding the rapid increase of people in Ireland; for I think there can be little doubt, that, by reclaiming and improving land, by practising more skilful husbandry, and by a spirited pursuit of the fisheries, that country, with a greater population than it now contains, but subsisting as the great majority of its inhabitants do at present, would be enabled to furnish for exportation an infinitely greater quantity of provisions than it now exports. Facts, indeed, do most powerfully substantiate an opinion of this nature. In the year 1757, a year which was not distinguished by any considerable variation in the exportation of provisions, from those years which immediately preceded or followed it, and in which the population of Ireland certainly was little more than half as great as it is

* Custom-house books.

at present; the beef, butter, pork, and corn, exported, were valued at £718,960 only;* whereas the value of the butter alone, exported last year, was £1,704,680; or near one million more than all the foregoing articles put together; or about £150,000 more, if valued according to the price current about 30 years ago.

But let us hear what the justly celebrated Dr. Adam Smith says on the subject of the balance of trade:

"Nothing can be more absurd than this whole doctrine of the balance of trade. When two places trade with one another, this doctrine supposes that if the balance be even, neither of them either loses or gains; but if it leans in any degree to one side, that one of them loses, and the other gains in proportion to its declension from the exact equilibrium. Both suppositions are false. A trade which is forced by means of bounties and monopolies may be, and commonly is, disadvantageous to the country in whose favour it is meant to be established, as I shall endeavour to shew hereafter. But that trade, which without force or constraint, is naturally and regularly carried on between any two places, is always advantageous, though not equally so to both.

* Mr. Young's Tour, Vol. II. p. 2.

By advantage or gain, I understand, not the increase of the quantity of gold and silver, but that of the exchangeable value of the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, or the increase of the revenue of its inhabitants.

If the balance be even, and if the trade between the two places consist altogether in the exchange of their native commodities, they will, upon most occasions, not only both gain, but they will gain equally, or very near equally; each will, in this case, afford a market for a part of the surplus produce of the other: each will replace a capital which had been employed in raising and preparing for the market this part of the surplus produce of the other, and which had been distributed among, and given revenue and maintenance to a certain number of its inhabitants. Some part of the inhabitants of each, therefore, will indirectly derive their revenue and maintenance from the other. As the commodities exchanged too are supposed to be of equal value, so the two capitals employed in the trade will, upon most occasions, be equal, or very nearly equal: and both being employed in raising the native commodities of the two countries, the revenue and maintenance thus mutually afforded, will be

greater or smaller in proportion to the extent of their dealings. If those should annually amount to a hundred thousand pounds, for example, or to a million on each side, each of them would afford an annual revenue, in the one case, of a hundred thousand pounds, in the other of a million to the inhabitants of the other.

*If their trade should be of such a nature that one of them exported to the other nothing but native commodities, while the returns of the other consisted altogether in foreign goods; the balance in this case, would still be supposed even, commodities being paid for with commodities. They would, in this case too, both gain, but they would not gain equally; and the inhabitants of the country which exported nothing but native commodities would derive the greatest revenue from the trade.* If England, for example, should import for France nothing but the native commodities of that country, and, not having such commodities of its own as were in demand there, should annually repay them by sending thither a large quantity of foreign goods, tobacco we shall suppose, and East India goods; this trade, though it would give some revenue to the inhabitants of both countries, would give more to these of France than

to those of England. The whole French capital annually employed in it would annually be distributed among the people of France. But that part of the English capital only which was employed in producing the English commodities with which those foreign goods were purchased, would be annually distributed among the people of England. The greater part of it would replace the capitals which had been employed in Virginia, Indostan, and China, and which had given revenue and maintenance to the inhabitants of those distant countries. If the capitals were equal, or nearly equal, therefore, this employment of the French capital would augment much more the revenue of the people of France than that of the English capital would the revenue of the people of England. France would in this case carry on a direct foreign trade of consumption with England; whereas England would carry on a round-about trade of the same kind with France. The different effects of a capital employed in the direct, and of one employed in the round-about foreign trade of consumption, have already been fully explained.

There is not, probably, between any two countries, a trade which consists altogether in the exchange either of native commoditi s on

both sides, or of native commodities on one side, and of foreign goods on the other. Almost all countries exchange with one another, partly native and partly foreign goods. THAT COUNTRY, HOWEVER, IN WHOSE CARGOES THERE IS THE GREATEST PROPORTION OF NATIVE, AND THE LEAST OF FOREIGN GOODS, WILL ALWAYS BE THE PRINCIPAL GAINER.

If it was not with tobacco and East India goods, but with gold and silver, that England paid for the commodities annually imported from France, the balance, in this case, would be supposed uneven; commodities not being paid for with commodities, but with gold and silver. The trade, however, would, in this case, as in the foregoing, give some revenue to the inhabitants of both countries, but more to those of France than to those of England. It would give some revenue to those of England. The capital which had been employed in producing the English goods that purchased this gold and silver, the capital which had been distributed among, and given revenue to certain inhabitants of England, would thereby be replaced and enabled to continue that employment. The whole capital of England would no more be diminished by this exportation of gold and silver, than by an exportation of an equal value

of any other goods. On the contrary, it would, in most cases, be augmented. No goods are sent abroad but those for which the demand is supposed to be greater abroad than at home, and of which the returns consequently, it is expected, will be of more value at home than the commodities exported. If the tobacco, which in England is worth only a hundred thousand pounds, when sent to France will purchase wine which is in England worth a hundred and ten thousand pounds, the exchange will augment the capital of England by ten thousand pounds. If a hundred thousand pounds of English gold, in the same manner, purchase French wine, which, in England, is worth a hundred and ten thousand, this exchange will equally augment the capital of England by ten thousand pounds. As a merchant who has a hundred and ten thousand pounds worth of wine in his cellar, is a richer man than he who has only a hundred thousand pounds worth of tobacco in his warehouse, so is he likewise a richer man than he who has only a hundred thousand pounds worth of gold in his coffers. He can put into motion a greater quantity of industry, and give revenue, maintenance, and employment to a greater number of people than either of the other two.

But the capital of the country is equal to the capitals of all its different inhabitants, and the quantity of industry which can be annually maintained in it, must generally be augmented by this exchange. It would, indeed, be more advantageous for England that it could purchase the wines of France with its own hardware and broad-cloth, than with either the tobacco of Virginia, or the gold and silver of Brazil and Peru. A direct foreign trade of consumption is always more advantageous than a round-about one. But a round-about foreign trade of consumption, which is carried on with gold and silver, does not seem to be less advantageous than any other equally round-about one. Neither is a country which has no mines more likely to be exhausted of gold and silver by this annual exportation of those metals, than that which does not grow tobacco by the like annual exportation of that plant. As a country which has wherewithal to buy tobacco will never be long in want of it, so neither will one be long in want of gold and silver which has wherewithal to purchase those metals."*

"There is no commercial country in Europe of which the approaching ruin has not fre-

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 182.—III. 155.

quently foretold by the pretended doctors of this system, from an unfavourable balance of trade. After all the anxiety, however, which they have excited about this, after all the vain attempts of almost all trading nations to turn that balance in their own favour and against their neighbours, it does not appear that any one nation in Europe has been in any respect impoverished by this cause."

"There is another balance, indeed, which has already been explained, very different from the balance of trade, and which according as it happens to be either favourable or unfavourable, necessarily occasions the prosperity or decay of every nation. This is the balance of the annual produce and consumption. If the exchangeable value of the annual produce, it has already been observed, exceeds that of the annual consumption, the capital of the society must annually increase in proportion to this excess. The society in this case lives within its revenue, and what is annually saved out of its revenue is naturally added to its capital, and employed so as to increase still further the annual produce.' If the exchangeable value of the annual produce, on the contrary, falls short of the annual consumption, the capital of the society must annually decay in proportion to

this deficiency. The expence of the society, in this case, exceeds its revenue, and necessarily encroaches upon its capital. Its capital, therefore, must necessarily decay, and, together with it, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its industry.

This balance of produce and consumption is entirely different from, what is called, the balance of trade. It might take place in a nation which had no foreign trade, but which was entirely separated from all the world. It may take place in the whole globe of the earth, of which the wealth, population, and improvement may be either gradually increasing or gradually decaying.

*The balance of produce and consumption may be constantly in favour of a nation, though what is called the balance of trade be generally against it. A nation may import to a greater value than it exports for half a century, perhaps, together; the gold and silver which comes into it during all this time, may be all immediately sent out of it; its circulating coin may gradually decay, different sorts of paper-money being substituted in its place, and even the debts too which it contracts in the principal nations with whom it deals may be gradually increasing; and yet its real wealth, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its land and labour, may,*

*during the same period, have been increasing in a much greater proportion.*"*

Thus much for the unfavourable balance of trade which Ireland has lately experienced, if indeed the balance of trade was *really* against that country; which, however, we are most amply authorised to disbelieve. But be that as it may, it is abundantly manifest, that Ireland has thriven prodigiously by trade; that it still continues to thrive; and that it enjoys a fair prospect of thriving, in an eminent degree, by the same means. In fact, it possesses, together with that great source of traffic,† a redundant population, every physical requisite for trade that any country can boast of; and many more than most others are blessed with.

" In the first period of trade," says the author of the Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times, " industry is chiefly employed in cultivating the lands, in increasing, manufacturing, and exchanging the produce of the country. These branches of trade call for vast additional numbers of hands; and hence an increase of numbers naturally ariseth.

" The same effect takes place in the second



* Idem. p. 491-2.

† See Note, page 46.

period of trade; so far as home productions are exchanged for foreign ones. This stage of commerce brings on a fresh demand of artificers of new and various kinds; produces an increase of labour, and therefore of inhabitants."*

On the subject of the late high rate of exchange, the opinions of persons conversant in trade seem to be by no means uniform: thus much, at least, may be inferred from the evidences taken before the Irish exchange committee.

That such high rate was not occasioned by an unfavourable balance of trade is a fact which, I think, cannot safely be disputed. Several very intelligent persons have ascribed it to an excessive issue of bank-paper. Such an issue did probably conduce to the production of this effect. But whatever injury the external trade of Ireland may have received from a depreciation of its circulating medium, has, I conceive, been fully compensated by the benefit which its internal trade, by far the more valuable of the two, has derived from an augmentation of its fictitious capital; the cause of such depreciation. Many works have been, in con-

* Section VIII. p. 184.

sequence, undertaken, which otherwise probably would not: and a greater quantity of productive labour has been thereby put in motion.

Those who attribute the disappearance of specie in Ireland to an unfavourable balance of trade, are certainly in error. The payment of the balance, during these last five years, admitting the balance to have been unfavourable, could scarcely have produced a perceptible effect in that country, wherein specie had been accumulating during many years. From the following account of guineas sent to, and received from Ireland, we may infer that the balance of trade had no great effect in diminishing the mass of gold in that country.

| Sent to. | | Received from. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1795.. 633,782..... | | 53,200 | By the Holyhead mail coach; and exclusive of the guineas for which insurance was not paid |
| 1796.. 579,000..... | | 29,430 | |
| 1797.. 733,359..... | | 5,600 | |
| 1798.. 684,280..... | | | |
| 1799.. 191,228..... | | | |
| | 1800.. | 66,000 | |
| 2,821,649 | 1801.. | 235,000 | |
| | | 389,230 | |

The fact is, that nine-tenths of the gold which has been withdrawn from circulation, are actually hoarded up.*

* A great variety of anecdotes, illustrative of this fact, might be related, the following one will suffice: A Representative

The true, or at least by far the most prominent causes of the high rate of exchange, are the vast remittances annually made to this country for the payment of interest due by Ireland; and for the uses of absentees. Remittances which, for the most part, owe their origin to the deplorable rebellion of 1798: a rebellion which, I am convinced, might have been precluded by measures, whereof the danger

of one of the Southern counties of Ireland, a gentleman, on whose scrupulous veracity I have long been in the habit of relying; whose character, indeed, exhibits an extraordinary bright assemblage of all the more amiable and exalted moral qualities, informed me that shortly before he left his country residence last spring, in order to attend Parliament, he was waited on by one of his tenants, a farmer, who holds from him about 200 acres, but whose mode of living, with respect to diet, like that of most persons of his description, at least in the provinces of Munster and Connaught, differs, notwithstanding, but very little from the mode of living which prevails among the Irish labourers. The object of the farmer's visit was, as he said, to accommodate his landlord with a few guineas; as he heard they were as scarce in England as Ireland. The latter thanked him; but declined accepting his offer, having provided a sufficiency for his occasions. The farmer was greatly distressed by the refusal, and entreated his landlord to take the gold, as he feared to keep it any longer in his house. This occasioned an inquiry as to the amount of the sum; and the landlord was not a little surprised at the farmer's producing a bag containing 500 guineas.

or inconvenience was, by no means, demonstrable; and could not possibly have operated on any but those whose views of the various mischiefs resulting from rebellion were extremely limited and indistinct: measures for the adoption of which I confess I was always extremely solicitous, under a firm persuasion both of their peculiar tendency to conciliate and consolidate the people of Ireland, and of their involving the most likely means to counteract the seductive expedients employed by the mercenary agents of that demoniacal faction, which, for a time, struck the whole civilized world with dismay; and of which it may truly be said, "*Tristius haud illis monstrum, nec sævior ulla pestis et ira Deum Stygiis sese extulit undis.*"

The following table will clearly shew the vast pecuniary loss which, in addition to the remittances to absentees, Ireland has sustained by war and rebellion, but chiefly by the latter. And I think if other considerations were wanting, it should be sufficient to teach those persons, of different descriptions, who are, or ought to be, interested either in the welfare of that country considered apart, or as involved in that of the British Empire, to avoid such practices or measures as may ultimately have the effect of rekindling the destructive flames of civil war.

*Debt of Ireland.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Year ended 25th March | 1793.. £ | 1,760,749 |
| | 1794.... | 2,134,140 |
| | 1795.... | 3,185,990 |
| | 1796.... | 4,841,856 |
| | 1797.... | 5,825,050 |
| | 1798.... | 10,128,906 |
| | 1799.... | 16,508,790 |
| | 1800.... | 24,207,290 |
| Year ended 5th January | 1801.... | 30,109,056 |
| | 1802.... | 34,911,838 |
| | 1803.... | 39,541,258 |
| | 1804.... | 43,019,325 |
| Amount created by loans since 1st January 1804..... | | 10,277,031 |
| Amount of the funded debt of Ireland, 4th July 1804..... | | 53,296,356 |
| Increase since the Rebellion..... | | 43,167,450 |

Increase during five years of war anterior to the Rebellion. £8,368,166

Account of sums paid by Messrs. Puget and Bainbridge, for interest and charges on loans made in England for the service of Ireland, in the following years, including the Tontine, in and since the year 1795.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1794.... | 16,859 | 15 | 0 |
| 1795.... | 103,608 | 18 | 5 |
| 1796.... | 136,006 | 8 | 8 |
| 1797.... | 169,950 | 1 | 0 |
| 1798.... | 306,270 | 18 | 0 |
| 1799.... | 504,807 | 10 | 6 |
| 1800.... | 755,594 | 5 | 10 |
| 1801.... | 900,958 | 16 | 2 |
| 1802.... | 1,035,853 | 15 | 0 |
| 1803.... | 1,122,322 | 16 | 3 |
| To pay in 1804.... | 1,220,000 | | |

## SECTION VIII.

### *Digression concerning Absentees.*

THE annual remittances to absentees are generally supposed to amount to about two millions sterling. I apprehend, however, that they do not fall short of three.

In a pamphlet, entitled "A List of Absentees," said to be written by Mr. Thomas Prior, and published in 1729, it is stated, that the annual remittances to absentees of all descriptions, amounted to £627,799.* In another pamphlet, entitled "A Scheme of the Money-matters of Ireland," written by John Browne, Esq. and published in 1729, it is computed, and seems extremely probable, that the landlords rent of that country did not amount to more than £2,025,000.† In a list of absentees, published in 1785, it is stated, that the remittances from Ireland to this country, for their use, amounted to £1,608,932.

* Page 13. † Page 15.

About six or seven years before, Mr. Arthur Young computed, that the landlords rent amounted to about £6,000,000; and was of opinion that the money remitted to absentees, in general, exceeded £1,000,000.* Now I think there can be no doubt that the rental of Ireland has much more than doubled within these last six and twenty years; and that the absentees have been much more numerous since the accursed rebellion of 1798, than at any period since the middle of the last century. If therefore Mr. Young was well informed, we have some reason for suspecting that the actual remittances to absentees do not fall much short of three millions.

The gain by trade must certainly be extraordinarily great and uniform to reimburse Ireland sufficiently for so vast an annual loss. That it will be very great, and continue so, we have good reason to hope; but that it will prove completely adequate to the end desired may perhaps be doubted. The people of Ireland do not appear, at present, to experience any very serious inconvenience from the loss which they annually sustain. But if capitals sufficient to establish, or extend manufactures,

* Tour, Vol. II. part II. p. 85.

be not accumulated; which can scarcely be expected during the continuance of so great a drain of money; if the demand for labour do not keep pace with the increase of people, which, in such case, it may not; if industry be overstocked; there will undoubtedly be reason to apprehend a recurrence of those disturbances which have already proved so injurious to Ireland; and tended, in so signal a manner, to increase the evil complained of. And a recurrence of those disturbances, by aggravating the evil in question, will prepare the way for further disturbances; and eventually have the effect of sinking the value of land, in the same ratio, in which a continuation of tranquillity would assuredly raise it: besides proving, in a variety of respects detrimental, and perhaps ultimately dangerous to this country. If Ireland grows poor, England will experience no small diminution of her wealth. If the former be convulsed, the strength of the latter must necessarily be impaired: and time may produce conjunctures in which a state of debility, thus induced, may alarm the most confident politician in the Empire.

To prevent the various probable mischiefs of an exhausting efflux of money from Ireland, the most obvious expedients are, to hold forth

every possible encouragement to tillage; to persevere in that system which has raised the linen manufacture to its present height; to give every encouragement to the cotton manufacture, in all its branches; and perhaps to impose a modified tax upon the estates of absentees.

The indiscriminate imposition of any tax on the incomes of those landed proprietors who reside in this country; much more the imposition of such a tax (four shillings in the pound) as was frequently in the contemplation of the talking patriots of Ireland; and strongly urged by Mr. Thomas Prior, would be a most flagrant outrage on those principles from which a wise and equitable government will never depart. And I moreover conceive that such an unfair tax would be perfectly unnecessary. The evil complained of, and which seems likely to produce such bad effects, may be sufficiently compensated for, as far as a tax on absentees can have that effect, by an infinitely less rigorous and invidious mode of proceeding; and one in which I can easily persuade myself a large majority of the absentees of Ireland would, on reflection, cheerfully acquiesce.

The absentee landlords of Ireland may be divided into four principal classes, the first, consisting of those who neither have mansions

in that country; nor have ever resided there. The second, consisting of those who have mansions in that country; but have never resided there: the third, consisting of those who have not mansions in that country; but have, nevertheless, resided there occasionally: and the fourth, consisting of those who have mansions in that country, and have also resided there. To impose an equal tax, however small, on these different classes, would evidently be inconsistent with the principles of equity. Suppose then a tax of sixpence in the pound were laid on the income, arising from land in Ireland, of every individual belonging to the first class, until he had resided in that country either two months in each year, during four years; four months in each year, during two years; or eight months in all: a tax of one shilling in the pound on the similar income of every individual belonging to the second class, until he had resided there three months in each year, during four years; six months in each year, during two years; or one year in all: the same tax on the income of every individual of the third class, until he had, from the passing of the act, resided there four months in each year, during four years; eight months in each year, during two years; or sixteen months in all: and a tax

of two shillings in the pound on the income of every individual of the fourth class, until, from the passing of the act, he had resided five months in each year, during four years; ten months in each year, during two years; or twenty months in all. And suppose that these taxes were re-imposed on the incomes of the heirs and successors of the present absentees, until they had fulfilled the conditions prescribed; and that all persons above the age of fifty years were exempt. And suppose further, that one-third of the produce of these taxes was applied to the encouragement of manufactures, one-third to the improvement of agriculture, and one-third to promote the discovery and working of collieries.—I am disposed to think that the absentees would, upon the whole, find themselves in the end infinitely more benefitted than aggrieved; and that by such an appropriation of the tax, Ireland would, in the course of time, be in some degree rescued from the effects of an evil which no other nation in Europe experiences to so great a proportionate extent. This tax moreover might, nay probably would, in many instances, induce landlords to visit their estates: a circumstance, which I am convinced would be pregnant with much benefit, not merely to their tenants, but to them-

selves; and perhaps prove adequate in effect to the application of that part of the tax which would thereby be lost.

To enter further into the detail of this plan, at present, would be altogether foreign to our purpose. Indeed the proper subject of these pages has already been too long out of sight.

## SECTION IX.

### *Of different Branches of the export Trade of Ireland, illustrative of a rapid Increase of People in that Country.*

An increased exportation of the native produce and manufactures of a country denotes an increased demand for labour. And an increased demand for labour must necessarily be followed by an increase of people. The view then which has already been taken of the trade of Ireland, leaves little room to doubt a late rapid increase of people in that country.

But as the demand for labour obviously varies, according to the different natures of the articles exported; as the employment afforded to the people of a country by some of these articles, may be incomparably greater than that afforded by others; we must examine separately the principal articles exported from Ireland, in order to form something like a correct opinion respecting the increased demand for labour in that country, and consequently respecting the increase of its inhabitants.

These articles may be divided into two classes. The first consisting of articles of the nature of provisions: the second of manufactures. The most prominent article in the first class, with reference to the subject of population, is corn: of the increased exportation of which the following table will afford a sufficient view.

## *CORN.*

| Exported from Ireland on an average of three years ended 25th | Barrels. | | | Cwts. | | Barley. Oats. Wheat. | Flour. Oatmeal. | Increase in nineteen years. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Barley. | Oats. | Wheat. | Flour. | Oatmeal. | | | Barley. Oats. Wheat. | Flour. Oatmeal. |
| March 1773. | 6,445 | 22,956 | 2,022 | 151 | 34,825 | 31,423 | 34,976 | Barrels. | Cwts. |
| Ditto 1783. | 19,696 | 106,570 | 60,246 | 85,284 | 25,467 | 186,512 | 110,751 | 757,807 | 162,240 |
| Ditto 1789. | 83,929 | 323,072 | 110,337 | 37,856 | 131,546 | 507,338 | 169,402 | | |
| Ditto 1792. | 40,697 | 607,995 | 140,538 | 85,966 | 106,079 | 789,230 | 197,216 | | |
| Of two years ended 5th Jan. 1804..... | 22,771 | 433,084 | 135,419 | 67,383 | 92,404 | 591,274 | 159,787 | | * |

* The first and second averages are taken from Lord Sheffield's Observations, page 262-3: the third and fourth from the Custom-house books: and the fifth from the accounts laid before Parliament.

By this table it appears that, in *nineteen* years only, the different exports of tillage from Ireland, became near fifteen times greater than they were. The greatest average export of corn, that ever took place from England, was from the year 1740 to the year 1750; when it amounted to 848,660 quarters; being not much more than twice the quantity of unmanufactured grain exported from Ireland, on an average of three years, ended in 1792. The average export, from the former, during ten years ended at 1710, was 281,945 quarters.* So that the quantity of corn exported from this country was not quite trebled in forty years, constituting that period in the last century, which was by far the most distinguished for a great and increasing exportation of that article.

Subsequently to the year 1792, the exportation of corn from Ireland appears to have declined considerably. The causes of this declension were, in addition to a great increase of people, an amazing increase in the demands of the porter and ale breweries and whiskey distilleries; a vast augmentation of the military establishment; and the intervention of two years of uncommon scarcity.

* Anderson's Investigation, &c. p. 41

I do not possess the means of forming a correct estimate of the quantity of barley consumed, *communibus annis,* in the porter and ale breweries, and whiskey distilleries since 1792. But I have no doubt of its having trebled at least within the last twenty years.

The military establishment of Ireland, about five-and-twenty years ago, consisted of four regiments of horse, eight of dragoons, twenty of foot, and a battalion of artillery; comprising altogether less than 12,000 men and 2,400 horses. In the year 1799, according to the returns laid before the Irish Parliament, the regulars, fencibles, and militia, in Ireland, amounted to 72,372; or upwards of 60,000 more than the former peace establishment of that country. The charge made, that year, for forage for 1773 horses, belonging to the waggon department, was £40,557. The charge for extra forage for ten thousand horses was £273,750, making together the sum of £314,307.* The regulars, fencibles, and militia, in Ireland, in the month of October 1801, amounted to 60,611; and the regulars, and militia, in March 1804, to 51,052. We may safely say then that, one year with an-

* Estimates presented to the Irish Parliament.

other, during these last ten years, Ireland has maintained an army, inclusive of the followers of it, comprising about 60,000 men, and about 10,000 horses. Yet notwithstanding this circumstance, and notwithstanding the annually increasing demands of the breweries and distilleries, the exportation of corn rose again, so as to be, on an average of the last two years, within 197956 barrels of its amount during the period of its greatest exportation.

Taking every circumstance into consideration, I am sure there will be found sufficient grounds for affirming, that the tillage of Ireland is, actually, at least, six times more extensive than it was about one-and-twenty years ago; and consequently that there are six times more people employed in that business: the different operations thereof not having been in the least simplified or facilitated in that period.

The number of people requisite to perform the different operations of tillage, and other rural works subservient thereto, is, in proportion, much greater in Ireland than in this country. Owing to the greater manageableness of the horses here, in consequence of their being housed earlier, and more frequently than the milder climate of Ireland renders necessary; owing also to superior skill, and more perfect implements of husbandry, an English ploughman will do that

work which requires the co-operation of two, or more frequently of three persons in Ireland. In that country, generally speaking, every horse employed in drawing, or, as in some places is the case, in carrying manure, has his appropriate guide: in this country, the largest teams seldom require more than one man. The culture of an acre of potatoes, the ordinary food of the great majority of the Irish people, requires, according to the mode that prevails in Ireland, ten times as much labour as the culture of an acre of wheat in this country. The Irish labourers, except when working for themselves, or engaged in task-work, certainly do not execute as much in the day as the labourers here. This was noticed by Mr. Young. In short, without descending further into the detail of agricultural operations, it may safely be said that an Irish farmer employs twice as great a number of people as an English farmer, holding the same number of acres; and consequently that an increase of tillage, in Ireland, indicates twice as great an increase of people as in England. "La culture des terres, remarks the President Montesquieu, devient pour les hommes une immense manufacture."* Such cer-

* L'esprit des loix, Tom. III. C. XIV.

tainly is the case in Ireland, in a pre-eminent degree.

But an increase of tillage does not denote merely a proportionate increase of the cultivators of the land; it also indicates a proportionate increase of those different descriptions of tradesmen and artificers who are employed by the former, such as shoemakers, tailors, weavers, hatters, smiths, masons, wheelwrights, &c. &c. all of whom, with their families, constitute a considerable part of the population. And the increase of these necessarily implies a proportionate increase of persons of other descriptions; there being among all descriptions of people in a community a reciprocal demand for each other's labour or ingenuity.

The rapid increase then of tillage in Ireland, within these last five-and-twenty years, amply evinced by public documents, amounts to an unequivocal and substantial proof of a most rapid increase of population in that country; besides affording other matter of the highest exultation. "The capital employed in agriculture," says Dr. A. Smith, "not only puts into motion a greater quantity of productive labour than any equal capital employed in manufactures, but in proportion to the ' an

tity of productive labour, which it employs, it adds a much greater value to the annual produce of the land and labour of the country, to the real wealth and revenue of its inhabitants. Of all the ways in which a capital can be employed, it is by far the most advantageous to society."* "The ordinary revolutions of war and government," says the same writer," easily dry up the sources of that wealth which arises from commerce only. That which arises from the more solid improvements of agriculture is much more durable, and cannot be destroyed but by those more violent convulsions occasioned by the depredations of hostile and barbarous nations continued for a century or two together; such as those which happened for some time before, and after the fall of the Roman Empire in the western provinces of Europe."†

Without recurring to any other document, illustrative of the increase of people in Ireland, it certainly might, with very little ingenuity, be proved, by the well authenticated increase of tillage in that country, that the increase of its inhabitants has been, and that its

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 362.

† Idem, Vol. I. p. 418.

population actually is, much greater than has been computed. But as all circumstances connected with its population concur in establishing these points, it is unnecessary to scrutinize any one circumstance to the utmost.

## BEEF.

| Exported from Ireland, on an average of 7 years, | | Barrels. | Bullocks and Cows. ‖ No. |
|---|---|---|---|
| with | 1770 | 200,799* | |
| ditto | 1777 | 195,605 | |
| of 5 years, | | | |
| ended 25th March, | 1782 | 172,690† | 2,993 |
| ditto | 1790 | 138,016‡ | |
| ditto | 1795 | 128,598‡ | |
| of 7 years, | | | |
| ended 25th March, | 1796 | 123,877 | 17,258 |
| ditto. 5th Jan. | 1803 | 112,059 | 25,491 |
| Year ended 5th Jan. | 1804 | 79,347§ | 28,522 |

Allowing each live beast to be, on an average, equivalent to two barrels of beef, we perceive,

* Mr. Young's Tour, Vol. II. part II. p. 126.

† Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 97.

‡ Custom-house books.

§ Account laid before Irish Exchange Committee.

‖ Bullocks, cows, and horses, are included in the same column, in Mr. Young's Tables. The number exported in the first period, was 2,127; in the second period, 4,040.

I have no account of the number of cattle exported in the fourth and fifth periods; nor of the number of horses exported in the sixth and seventh periods.

The number of horses exported last year was 3,601.

by this Table, that the exportation of beef has decreased only 15,629 barrels from the period ended in 1782, to the period ended in 1803, or we may say in about twenty-one years; although the tillage of Ireland, during that space of time, was, as we have already seen, extended in an unprecedented manner. Proceeding in like manner, and assuming, as we very well may, that the average number of bullocks and cows, exported during the first period, did not exceed 1,500, we perceive that the difference between the actual exportation of beef, and that which took place in the first period, or we may say about seven or eight-and-thirty years ago, is only 67,408 barrels. And here it seems not amiss to observe, that the average export of beef, during the first period, was greater by 38,765 barrels than the average export which took place during the seven years which ended in 1759; and greater than the export which took place, even in Sir William Petty's time, when that gentleman affirmed that Ireland was competent to maintain 5,500,000 people; or five times its then number of inhabitants.* " Of the black cattle,

* Treatise of Taxes and Contributions, p. 33.

says he, there are 60,000 exported alive, and 30,000 dead in barrels."†

That pasturage has been very considerably extended in Ireland, notwithstanding the amazing increase of tillage in that country, is a fact, of which, as we shall see, there can be no doubt. We may say that, one year with another, there have of late years been about 50,000 more soldiers, and their followers, in Ireland, than were in that country from the year 1764 to the year 1770. We may also fairly beg the question, so far as to assume, that there are actually in Ireland at least 200,000 consumers of animal food more than there were during the period just mentioned. Now supposing that each soldier consumes annually 150lbs. of beef, the annual consumption of the additional number of soldiers, or 50,000, will amount to 33,182 barrels: and supposing that each of the additional consumers of animal food consumes, on an average, together with other flesh meat, ¼ of a pound of beef daily, or about 91 pounds in the year, the 200,000 additional consumers of animal food will annually consume a quantity of beef equal to 81,250 barrels: which being added to the last

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 339.

number, makes the increased home consumption of beef amount to a quantity equal to 114,732 barrels. And this being added to the quantity exported last year, would make the whole amount to 251,123 barrels, or 50,324 more than there were annually exported during a period of the greatest exportation.

It seems then that tillage has not really, though apparently, gained on pasturage; but that tillage and pasturage have conjointly gained most surprisingly on the waste and unproductive land of Ireland: and that consequently a vast addition has been virtually made to that (the land) which Dr. Adam Smith considers as "by far the greatest, the most important, and the most durable part of the wealth of every extensive country."*

Even if there existed satisfactory evidences of a great decline of pasturage in Ireland, we could not avoid inferring from the singularly rapid and well-authenticated increase of tillage in that country, a most rapid increase of people. But we find that pasturage instead of being contracted, is considerably extended; and of course, that the people concerned in that business, are more numerous than they were; that those

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 348.

who are actually engaged in tillage, have not been withdrawn from pasturage; but that the latter business has, to a certain degree, in conjunction with the former, tended, by its increase, to afford additional employment to the people of Ireland.

## BUTTER.

| Exported from Ireland, on an average of | | Cwts. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 7 years, with | 1770 | 201,510 | * |
| ditto | 1777 | 267,212 | * |
| of 5 years, ended 25th March, | 1782 | 245,683 | † |
| of 4 years, ended 25th March, | 1789 | 307,591 | ‡ |
| of 7 years, ended 25th March, | 1796 | 299,294 | Real value of the butter exported in the year ended 5th January 1804. |
| of 7 years, ended 5th Jan. | 1803 | 298,737 | |
| Year ended 5th Jan. | 1804 | 334,251 | § £1,704,680 2s. |

By this Table, we perceive that the exportation of butter has greatly increased in the last five-and-twenty years, notwithstanding the already-demonstrated increase of tillage. The quantity exported of late years would, no doubt, have been much greater than it was, had it not been for the causes assigned under the preceding

* Mr. Young's Tour, Vol. II. part II. p. 126.

† Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 97.

‡ Custom-house books.

§ Account laid before the Irish Exchange Committee.

article. We are not, however, to infer from the increase in the exportation of butter a proportionate increase of pasturage. That pasturage has increased as well as tillage we have already seen. But the actual increased production of the article under consideration is perhaps rather owing to an increase of the latter, than of the former. Farmers in Ireland, who hold from ten to fifty acres, and till the greater part of their tenements, generally keep from one to three cows. The fresh milk of these cows, however, is very seldom if ever used by their families, whose ordinary beverage at their meals is skimmed milk, or more frequently butter-milk, or milk obtained from two or three wretched ewes turned to graze (if indeed the word can be employed without a blunder) on some exhausted field. The cows afford manure for the farm, subsistence for the family, and considerable aid towards paying the rent. Even farmers who have ten or twelve cows preserve their fresh milk for making butter. The increased exportation of that article, therefore, may be considered as an evidence of the increase both of pasturage and of tillage; and also as a proof of the prevalence of that simple diet, for which a vast majority of the Irish community have long been remarkable;

and which has tended in an eminent degree, to augment the wealth of Ireland.

## PORK.

| Exported from Ireland, on an average of 7 years, | Pork, barrels. | Bacon, flitches. | Hams, &c. cwts. | Hogs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| with ..... 1770 | 41,649 | 7,881 | not | 223 |
| ditto ..... 1777 | 55,240 | 19,125 | mentioned | 624* |
| of 5 years, ended 25th March, 1782 | 87,085 | 5,983 | 317 | 280† |
| of 7 years, ended 25th March, 1792 | 94,079 | 41,418 | 945 | |
| of 7 years, ended 25th March, 1796 | 114,844 | 70,144 | not mentioned | |
| of 7 years, ended 5th Jan. .. 1803 | 117,676 | 90,772 | | |
| Year ended 5th Jan. 1804 | 119,049 | 114,382 | 3,955 | 12,976§ |

Taking the hogs, flitches and hams, exported, during the period ended in March 1782, as equivalent to 1,863 barrels of pork, and the hogs, flitches and hams, exported last year, as equivalent to 40,304 barrels, the export of pork, in general, during the former period, will amount to 88,948 barrels, and, during the latter, to 159,353. So that we may say the export of pork has nearly doubled in about three-and-twenty years. But this will give us

* Mr. Young's Tour, Vol. II. Part II. p. 131.

† Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 98.

‡ Custom-house books.

§ Account laid before the Irish Exchange Committee.

a very imperfect idea indeed of the increased production of that article in Ireland.

The two years of scarcity which followed the rebellion of 1798, occasioned, I am persuaded, a diminution amounting to upwards of 1-4th of the whole stock of swine. The exportation of pork, therefore, must necessarily have ever since, in some degree, fallen short of what it would have been had not such scarcity occurred. Swine in Ireland are not fed partly on butter-milk and whey, as in England, but almost wholly on potatoes. Man is the save-all of the dairy in that country: the hog in this. The number of pigs kept by labourers, cottier-tenants, country artificers, and farmers, in Ireland, by whom they are chiefly reared, is always proportionate to their respective stores of potatoes.

To acquire a suitable idea of the increased production of pork in Ireland, we must look into the account of the exportation of that article immediately anterior to the first year of scarcity. By Mr. Irving's account laid before the House of Lords, in February 1799, it appears that on an average of three years ended 5th January in that year, there were exported from Ireland, of pork..... 179,994 barrels.

bacon..... 47,136 cwts.

hogs..... 6,788 no.

The whole together being equivalent to 208,653 barrels of pork; or 119,705 more than were exported on an average during the period ended in March 1782. But it will be recollected, that there was a vast army in Ireland during the period ended 5th January 1799. Now if we make the same reasonable allowance for the average annual consumption of pork by the army then in Ireland, which we did for the annual consumption of beef by 50,000 additional soldiers, viz. 33,482 barrels;—but a greater allowance ought to be made, as the army was then most numerous—we shall find what may be considered as the surplus produce of pork in Ireland, in that period, to amount to 242,135 barrels; or nearly three times as much as it amounted to about 18 years before. If, in like manner, we add 33,482 barrels (the supposed average annual consumption of the additional soldiers in Ireland) to the quantity actually exported, we shall find the surplus produce to amount to about 192,835 barrels: or to have considerably more than doubled in about 23 years, notwithstanding the great diminution of the stock of swine occasioned by the late two years of scarcity; the effect whereof was to

raise the price of pork from £1 5*s.* per cwt. to £3 10*s.**

Perhaps this surplus produce would have been still further augmented, but for the increasing exportation of potatoes to the West-Indies; and the consequent enhancement of their value. When the country people can get sixpence a stone for their potatoes, they will seldom feed pigs with them. We find, by the accounts laid before Parliament, that there were 1,661 tons of potatoes exported last year; but I have been informed by persons, who had good opportunities of attaining a competent knowledge of the fact, that the average quantity really exported, of late years, was infinitely greater than appears. Whether it would be prudent to encourage, by bounty, the exportation of potatoes, when, under a certain price, and to prohibit their exportation when above it, is a question perhaps not unworthy of the consideration of the legislature. The price of potatoes, in and near Limerick, last July, was 2½d. the stone: their price in and near Cork was 8d. The cause of the former was, I understand, a discontinuance of exportation, occasioned by popular tumults: the cause of the latter was a

* Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny, p. 496.

free and uninterrupted exportation. In the latter case, the people were distressed: in the former, the cultivation of the potatoe was discouraged. Had there been a bounty on the exportation of potatoes when under 4d. and a prohibition when above it, the unaccommodated poor of Cork would not have felt distress, nor would the poor of Limerick have proceeded to acts of outrage.

We have seen that the exportation of pork has been nearly doubled in abont 23 years, notwithstanding the occurrence of circumstances which must have powerfully operated in narrowing its production, and diminishing its exportation. And I apprehend we have sufficient reason for believing, that had it not been for these circumstances, the actual exportation of pork would be at least three times greater than it was five-and-twenty years ago.

Here is another unequivocal evidence of a rapid increase of people in Ireland. In that country very few persons, if any, earn their livelihoods, as in this, exclusively by fattening hogs. Considerable numbers of these animals are fattened at the breweries and distilleries; but nine-tenths of them, are reared by the farmers, cottiers, labourers and country artificers, as was formerly noticed. In almost

every *cabin*, one or two pigs are to be found. In 87 *cabins*, three only of which belonged to farmers, I found, last July, 120 full-grown pigs. In these *cabins* I also found 47 dogs, animals which are rarely kept by the poor where the refuse of their food is insufficient to rear a pig. But it is in the winter, or after the potatoes are dug out, that the cabins abound most with swine.

If the agricultural labourers, and others just mentioned, individually taken, reared a greater number of pigs than formerly, in consequence of a greater surplus of potatoes, an increased exportation of pork would be but a fallacious sign of an increase of people. Such, however, it is well known, is not the case. The contrary, indeed, in a great degree, is so.

The foregoing Tables shew us that, notwithstanding the existence, during the last eight or nine years, of various circumstances tending directly to occasion a diminished exportation of articles of subsistence from Ireland, the exportation of corn from that country has been more than trebled in about 23 years; the exportation of beef has experienced but an inconsiderable diminution; the exportation of butter has been increased about one-half; and the exportation of pork has been nearly doubled in

that space of time. Thus, in conjunction with the documents and considerations already noticed, do these tables, collectively taken, evince, beyond the possibility of doubt, a most rapid increase of people in Ireland; and at the same time, exhibit, in a clear light, this interesting fact, that within these last five-and-twenty years, or thereabouts, the increase of food in that country has not merely been commensurate with, but has greatly surpassed, the rapid and well-authenticated increase of its population: a fact, which, under the sanction of the opinions of all the more eminent political writers, may be pronounced an irrefragable proof of extraordinary national strength and real wealth. "People," says Dr. Davenant, "are the real strength and riches of a country."* "Countries," says Dr. A. Smith, "are populous, not in proportion to the number of people whom their produce can clothe; but in proportion to the number whom it can feed."† "Food," says the same author, "not only constitutes the principal part of the riches of the world; but it is the abundance of food

* Political and Commercial Works, Vol. I. p. 73.

† Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 168.

which gives the principal part of their value to many other sorts of riches."*

## ALE AND BEER.

These articles, together with that which follows, are, with reference to the subject before us, merely supplementary to the article Corn; inasmuch as an increase of their production necessarily implies a correspondent increase of the production of that article. Ale and beer heretofore held a conspicuous place among the imports, and have not as yet attained such a one among the exports of Ireland. The nature, however, of this inquiry, seems to demand their being considered in this place, rather than among the articles imported for home consumption.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Imported into Ireland on an Average of seven years, with | 1770.. | 34,726 barrels. | † |
| Ditto | 1777.. | 56,102 | † |
| Average of three years, ended 25th March | 1783.. | 54,546 | ‡ |
| Ditto | 1792 | 111,920 | § |
| Ditto, ended 5th January | 1804.. | 7,861 | § |
| Year ended 5th January | 1804.. | 8,209 | ‖ |

The porter breweries, in general, and several of the principal ale breweries of Ireland, were

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 179.

† Mr. Young's Tour, Vol. II. part II. p. 198.

‡ Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 255.

§ Custom-house Books.

‖ Account laid before Irish Exchange Committee.

established subsequently to the year 1790. The three greatest porter breweries in the city of Cork, were established in 1792, 1795 and 1797. The porter and ale breweries of the new and flourishing town of Fermoy,* in the county of Cork, were established about seven or eight years ago. The average exportation of barley, during three years ended in March 1789, was 83,929 barrels. The average export of that article, during three years ended in March 1792, was 40,697 barrels. The average export during five years, ended in March 1797, was 9,392 barrels. The export in 1795 was 7,381 barrels: in 1796, *three* barrels: and in 1797, *one* barrel only. So liberal and munificent, however, was the conduct of those who were concerned in the porter and ale breweries, and so efficacious was the encouragement thereby afforded to the cultivation of barley, that it occasioned, beyond the enormous supply for home consumption, a surplus produce of 48,369 barrels for exportation in the year ended in March 1798.†

* The writer of these pages takes the present opportunity to acknowledge himself highly obliged to an extremely intelligent gentleman of the name of Adair, resident in the town of Fermoy, for a most interesting, circumstantial, valuable, and well-written account of that town.

† Custom-house Books.

The present Chancellor of the Irish Exchequer, in a speech delivered in the session of 1786, stated that the average number of barrels of ale brewed in Ireland, and which paid duty, was 457,360.* The average number imported about the same time was 54,546, making together about 500,000. At present the quantity of porter brewed in the city of Cork alone, exceeds 100,000 casks, or about 150,000 barrels. With respect to the quantity of porter and ale brewed throughout Ireland, I am not at present informed. The great decrease of the importation of ale, and that of the exportation of barley, and also the well-attested increase of consumers, leave no doubt of its being immense.

## HOME-MADE SPIRITS.

I find no mention made by either Mr. Young or Lord Sheffield, of the exportation of home-made spirits from Ireland. Nor do I believe that any were exported when they wrote.

The quantity exported on an average of 7 years, ended 25th March, 1796, was..... 10,284 gallons.
Ditto, 5th January, 1803 ..... 200,426
Year ended ..... 1804..... 930,800†

* This is taken from the Parliamentary Debates as they appeared in the Dublin Evening Post.

† Account laid before Irish Exchange Committee.

The revenue produced by home-made spirits, in the year ended in March 1782, was..... £119,211 3*s.* 4*d.**
Ditto..... 1800..... 549,492 10 7½
Ditto in the year ended January 5, 1803 846,335 6 7 †

A revenue which exceeded by £74,021 9*s.* 4¾*d.* the total amount of the payments made to the Vice-Treasurers of Ireland in the year ended 25th March 1784, as appears by the following account:

| | £ | *s.* | *d.* | Total. £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ordinary Revenue.... | 737,874 | 7 | 4¾ ‡ | 772,313 | 17 | 2¼ ‡ |
| Quit Rents..... | 133 | 11 | 7 | | | |
| Casualties..... | 950 | 1 | 10 | | | |
| Dismissed Collectors... | 9,216 | 18 | 7 | | | |
| The like on account of stamp-duties..... | 24,138 | 17 | 9½ | | | |

## MANUFACTURES.

### *Linen.*

Exported from Ireland on an average of 7 years, Yards.
with.....1770.. 17,776,862 §
Ditto..... 1777.. 20,252,239 §
of 2 years,
ended 25th March.. 1783.. 20,625,278
of 7 years,
ended 25th March.. 1798.. 41,670,659* £ *s.* *d.*
Year ended 5th Jan. 1804.. 37,569,854† Val. 3,751,829 11 3

* Taken from the resolutions entered into at a meeting of the principal distillers of Ireland in October 1783.

† Accounts laid before Parliament.

‡ From an abstract of the Revenue of Ireland, inserted in Lord Sheffield's Observations.

§ Mr. Young's Tour, Vol. II. part II, p. 151.

‖ Appendix to the Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the Manufactures of Ireland in 1784.

* Custom-house books. † Account laid before Irish Ex. Com.

By this table we perceive that the exportation of linen did more than double in about fifteen years. But as there was an unusually small quantity exported in the year ended in March 1783, viz. 16,205,832 yards, we cannot consider the exportation as having doubled in less than one-and-twenty years ended in 1798. The check which it received, subsequently to that year, could not, as yet, have had any considerable effect on population; the increased demand at home having probably compensated for the decreased demand from abroad.

The exportation of woollen goods from England, experienced a very great increase during the last century. But the increase in the exportation of linen from Ireland, was more than three times greater. The value of the woollen goods annually exported from the former, on an average of the years 1699, 1700, and 1701, was £2,561,615; the value of those exported, on an average of the years 1769-70-71, was £4,323,463; and that of those exported, on an average of the years 1791-2-3, was £5,056,733.*

Illustrating the late increase of people in this country, Mr. Chalmers says, "Our woollen manufactures have nearly doubled in *seventy*

* Mr. Chalmers's Estimate, p. 208.

*years*, our other manufactures have almost trebled; and therefore it is equally demonstrable that the great body of artists, who were employed in these, must have increased nearly in the same proportion, during the same busy period."*

To apply that sagacious author's words, with little alteration, to Ireland. The staple manufacture of that country has more than doubled in *twenty-one* years; and the tillage of that country, which Montesquieu calls, "*une immense manufacture*," has more than trebled in the last twenty-one years—we might say quadrupled in a shorter period—and therefore it is equally demonstrable that the vast multitudes who were employed in these, must have increased, nearly in the same proportion, during the same busy period.

* Mr. Chalmers's Estimate, p. 209.

*Wool and Woollen Manufactures.*

| Exported from Ireland on an average of 3 years, with 1702. | Wool. Stones. | Yarn. Stones. | Total. Stones. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Of 7 years, with ..... 1770. | 320,382 | 34,470 | 360,852 | * |
| Ditto ..... 1777. | 18,976 | 151,347 | 170,323 | |
| Of 5 years ended 25th March 1788. | 1,414 | 100,519 | 101,933 | † |
| Of 7 years ended 25th March 1796. | 2,435 | 84,255 | 86,690 | |
| Ditto 5th January 1803. | ..... | 37,955 | ..... | ‡ |
| Year ended 5th January .... 1802. | ..... | 12,233 | ..... | |
| Ditto ..... 1804. | 979½ | 16,322 | 17,301½ | § |
| | 8,058 | 8,277 | 16,335 | ‖ |

* Mr. Young's Tour, Vol. II. Part. II. p. 129-30.

† Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 158.

‡ Accounts laid before Irish Exchange Committee: wool not mentioned.

§ Accounts laid before Parliament.

‖ Accounts laid before Irish Exchange Committee.

By this table we perceive, that the exportation of wool and yarn from Ireland has declined most rapidly, especially in the course of the last 23 years. In fact, we may consider it as having in effect totally ceased; the importation having exceeded the exportation of these articles, in the year ended in January 1802. The number of stones of wool and yarn imported in that year, was 17,651½: the number

exported, 17,301½.* The obvious inference to be drawn from hence is, that the woollen manufacture has greatly increased in Ireland during the above period. The increase of the manufacture of the finer sorts of woollen goods, has not I believe been very great: that of the inferior sorts certainly has. The woollen manufacture is carried on in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Bandon, Carrick-on-Suir, Tallow, Lismore, in the Queen's county and in other places. But the greater part of the wool produced in Ireland is consumed by the lower orders of the country people, who, generally speaking, get it manufactured at home for their own use. It is their increased consumption of that article, in consequence of their numeral increase, that has had the greatest effect in reducing the exportation of it.

The first export of woollen goods from Ireland, after that country had obtained a free trade, amounted to 494 yards of old, and 8,653 yards of new drapery. The export rose as follows:

| | Old drapery. | New drapery. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1781.... | 3,740..... | 286,859..... | 290,599 yards. |
| 1782.... | 4,633..... | 336,607..... | 341,240 |
| 1783.... | 40,589..... | 538,061..... | 578,650 † |

* Accounts laid before Parliament.

† Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 12.

But so great was the increase of the home demand that the export soon declined most rapidly. The quantity of new drapery exported, on an average of seven years, ended 25th March 1796, was 226,146 yards. The quantity exported, on an average of seven years, ended 5th January 1803, was 55,096. The new and old drapery exported last year amounted to only 6,433 yards.*

The great decrease of the exportation of wool and yarn from Ireland, the trifling quantities of woollen goods which have been exported from that country since the removal of the restraints which affected its commerce, and the vast quantities of British woollens which it has, of late years demanded, have been attributed to a proportionate decrease of sheep, in consequence of a great extension of tillage. The true cause, however, is unquestionably a vast increase of population.

We have seen that, notwithstanding the extension of tillage and the demands of a large army, the exportation of beef is nearly as great as it was 25 years ago. And we have seen that the quantity of butter exported has been in-

* Accounts laid before Irish Exchange Committee: old drapery not mentioned in the account.

creased one-half. Now I confess I cannot perceive sufficient reason for suspecting that the number of sheep has been diminished, while that of bullocks and cows taken together has been very greatly increased, and facts prove that such has not been the case. The average price of beef, throughout all Ireland, in the years 1776-7-8, was, according to Mr. Young, 2¼*d.* per pound: the average price of mutton 2¾*d.** The price of beef, in one part of the county of Kilkenny, in the year 1790, was, according to Mr. Tighe, 2½*d.* per pound: the price of mutton 3*d.* The price of the former, according to the same gentleman, was in the year 1800, 6*d.* that of the latter 6½*d.*† In another part of that county the prices of both meats were the same.‡ In other parts of Ireland, the price of beef has lately exceeded that of mutton. Had not the increase of sheep kept pace with the increase of bullocks and cows, it is certain that the prices of beef and mutton would not have held nearly the same proportion to each other for about seven-and-twenty years.

* Tour, Vol. II. Part II. p. 54.

† Statistical Survey of Kilkenny, p. 497.

‡ Idem, p. 494.

But an increase of tillage in Ireland, does, by no means, imply a proportionate decrease of sheep. Sheep are necessary to, and are kept by almost every little tillage farmer and cottier-tenant. Their milk contributes to the support of his family; their wool to the clothing of his family; and their muck to the revival of his worn-out fields. Besides as land is annually meliorated by the depasturing of sheep, the mountains of Ireland actually support vast multitudes of these animals more than formerly. Their fleeces moreover are much heavier than they were. It seems then, that it is to the vast increase of competitors, not to the decrease of the commodity, that we are to ascribe the reduction of the surplus produce of wool in Ireland.

### *Cotton Manufacture.*

It is not more than five-and-twenty years since this manufacture was established in Ireland. Of its increase, and the consequent employment it has afforded to the operative part of the Irish community, we may judge by the following account of the increased importation of its raw materials.

| Imported into Ireland on an average of 3 years, ended 25th March 1783.. | Cotton wool. 3,236cwts.. | Cotton yarn. 5,405lbs. * |
|---|---|---|
| On an average of 7 years, ended 25th March 1796.. | 13,171..... | 283,085 |
| Ditto, 5th January 1803.. | 13,159..... | 628,916 † |

Notwithstanding this prodigious increase in the importation of the raw materials of the cotton manufacture, and from which, by the way, we must infer the employment of additional thousands of people, so great have been the demands of the rapidly increasing population of Ireland for cotton fabrics, that not only no exportation of them worth mentioning has of late been made from that country, but their importation has greatly increased. The value of the cottons, plain and coloured, imported into Ireland, on an average of seven years, ended in March 1796, being £99,943; and that of the same articles imported, on an average of seven years, ended in January 1803, being £157,007.‡ This may be considered as the principal of those infant manufactures which, it is expected, will speedily have the effect of

* Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 207.

† Account laid before Irish Exch. Committee. ‡ Ibid.

completely reversing the late supposed unfavourable balance of trade.

### *Inferior Manufactures.*

The following manufactures, collectively, afford employment to considerable numbers of people in Ireland. The quantity however of their surplus produce is not, as yet, sufficient to induce the necessity of considering them separately, in a work of this nature; we may therefore confine ourselves to taking a general comparative view of them, at two periods, sufficiently remote from each other.

| Total export during the 3 following years; 1781, 1782, 1783. | Exported in the year ended 5th Jan. 1804. |
|---|---|
| Glass bottles, doz. 4,098 | 19,422 |
| Drinking glasses, No. 9,910 | 64,446 |
| Glass ware, value £207 19*s.* 10*d.* | £9,072 19*s.* 10*d.* |
| | Cases, No. 381 |
| cwts. qrs. lbs. | |
| Books unbound 245 3 14 | 533 |
| Paper, writing, reams 521 | 2,930 |

| Exported on an average of 5 years, ended 25th March 1782. | |
|---|---|
| cwts. qrs. lbs. | |
| Candles 4,524 3 12 | 8,447 |
| Gunpowder (none) | 447 cwts. |

| | Exported in the year, ended 25th March 1783. | Exported in the year ended 5th Jan. 1804. |
|---|---|---|
| Soap | 374 cwts. | 7,119 |
| Stationary ware (none)* | | value £1,395 13*s.* 11*d.*† |

The surplus of these few articles is certainly extremely trifling at present. The home consumption of them, however, is far otherwise. And the encouragement given thereby will, no doubt, as in similar cases, have the ultimate effect of rendering them conspicuous among the exports of Ireland.

* Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 240. On an average of 3 years, ended in March 1783, there were *imported* into Ireland,

| | |
|---|---|
| Bottles, doz | 12,504 |
| Cases, No | 2,067 |
| Drinking glasses, No | 22,248 |
| Glass ware, value | £3,675 11*s.* 9½*d.* id. |

† Accounts laid before Irish Exchange Committee.

## SECTION X.

*Of different Branches of the Import Trade of Ireland, tending to evince a late rapid Increase of its Inhabitants.*

THE increased importations of coal, drapery, tobacco, tea, and sugar, appear to furnish as decisive and satisfactory proofs of a late rapid increase of the population of Ireland as those which have just been dismissed.

### COAL.

| Imported into Ireland, on an average of two years, ended | | Tons. |
|---|---|---|
| 25th March | 1783 | 230,135 |
| Ditto | 1793 | 362,345 |
| Year ended 5th January | 1804 | 417,030* |

Thus we perceive that the actual importation of coal into Ireland is not very far from being twice as great as it was about twenty-one years ago. The increase would have been considerably greater than appears above, but for the following circumstances.

* Custom-house books.

First, a more economical consumption of that article, in consequence of a great rise in its price. The current price of coal on an average of three years preceding 25th of March 1799, was 18*s.* 5½*d.* per ton: the current price in 1800 and 1801, £1 2*s.*—and in the year ended 5th January 1803, £1 5*s.** Secondly, a very considerable saving of that article, especially in public works, occasioned by the adoption of the ingenious contrivances of that valuable member of society, Count Rumford. Thirdly, a reduction of the demands of Dublin, in consequence of its being better supplied, than formerly, with Kilkenny coal; and in consequence of its receiving vast and annually increasing supplies of turf from the bog of Allen, since the extension of the grand canal to that place. And fourthly, the increased production of Irish coal. It is true, that few of the Irish collieries are as yet worked with proper spirit and skill; but the supplies which they yield are more abundant than anterior to 1783. The produce of the collieries of Drumglas and Coal-island, in the county of Tyrone, and of Ballycastle and Fair-head, in the county of Antrim, afford such aid to the declining turf-bogs, as to

* Account laid before Parliament.

supersede, to a great degree, the necessity of mporting British coal into the populous and manufacturing province of Ulster. And from the collieries in the county of Kilkenny, in the Queen's county, and in the county of Tipperary, coals are actually carried to very distant places. As for the collieries at Lough Allen, in the county of Leitrim, they are adequate, according to the opinion of an able engineer (Mr. Evans) given before the House of Commons in 1783, to supply, if properly worked, the whole island.

But from the increased importation of coal into Ireland, a limited inference only can be drawn respecting the increase of population in that country. Even on a supposition that 350,000 tons of coal out of 400,000 were consumed in private houses, such quantity, allowing 10 tons on an average to each house, would indicate the existence of only 35,000 houses, or at 6 to each 210,000 souls: a very small part of the population o Ireland. So that there might be a very rapid increase of people in that country, though the importation of coal had decreased; and, but not near so likely, vicê versâ. We can therefore only say, that the increased importation of British coal evinces a proportionate increase of those who use that article; and that it is highly probable the increase of those

who do not use that article, has been proportionate to that of those who do: there being no sufficient reason to suppose the contrary.

## OLD DRAPERY.

| Imported into Ireland, on an average of three years, ended 25th March..... | | Yards. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 1783.... | 353,753 | * |
| On an average of seven years, ended ditto..... | 1796.... | 758,491 | † |
| Ditto, ended 5th January.. | 1803.... | 1,310,533 | † |
| On an average of two years, ended ditto..... | 1804.... | 1,330,304 | ‡ |

Thus we perceive that the importation of old drapery into Ireland, has nearly quadrupled since the period of 1783. This prodigious increase certainly cannot have been owing to a diminished production of such part of the raw materials of that manufacture as Ireland affords; for we have found sufficient reason to believe that the number of sheep has been considerably increased, instead of being diminished; and we learn from good authorities, that their fleeces are heavier now than formerly. In Sir Wm. Petty's time, the weight of one fleece with another was 2lbs: Mr. Young informs us that the average weight in the years 1776-7-8, was about

* Lord Sheffield's Observations, p. 161.

† Account laid before Irish Exchange Committee.

‡ Custom-house books.

5lbs. It may in part be ascribed to the Irish manufacturer being undersold in his own country, or to a want of sufficient capital to carry on the manufacture with advantage. But is chiefly owing to a rapid multiplication of those who wear English cloths; from whence we must infer a proportionate increase of those who do not.

## TOBACCO.

| Imported into Ireland, in the year | | lbs. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| ended 25th March | 1783 | 3,459,861 | * |
| On an average of 7 years, ended 25th March | 1796 | 4,525,706 | † |
| Ditto ended 5th January | 1803 | 7,612,853 | † |
| On an average of two years, ended ditto | 1804 | 6,611,543 | ‡ |

Thus the increase in the importation of tobacco for home consumption, appears to have nearly doubled in the last twenty-one years, although the use of that article has undoubtedly declined in Ireland; and a substitute for American tobacco is used by many of the inferior people. About four or five-and-twenty years ago, the Irish were permitted to cultivate that plant.

* Lord Sheffield, p. 321.

† Account laid before the Irish Exchange Committee.

‡ Custom-house books.

## TEA.

| | lbs. |
|---|---|
| Imported into Ireland, on an average of three years, ended 25th March.... 1783.. | 1,703,855* |
| On an average of 7 years, ended 5th Jan. 1803.. | 2,949,662† |
| On an average of two years, ended do.. 1804.. | 3,358,256‡ |

The importation of tea appears thus to have almost doubled in the last twenty-one years. That it has so, in reality, may however be doubted. There is sufficient reason to believe, that greater quantities of tea were smuggled into Ireland about one-and-twenty years ago, than have been of late. We know that the use of tea has not become more prevalent in that country than formerly. And however rapid the increase of its inhabitants, we are not warranted in supposing that their number has doubled in twenty-one years. Yet the increase in the importation of the following article, which has not been rendered so doubtful by smuggling as that of tea, seems to justify us in entertaining an opinion that the increase of consumers in Ireland has been infinitely more rapid than we have supposed.

* Lord Sheffield, p. 284.

† Account laid before the Irish Exchange Committee.

‡ Custom-house books.

## RAW SUGAR.

| Imported into Ireland, on an average | | Cwts. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| of three years, ended 25th March.... | 1782.. | 143,117 | |
| On an average of seven years, ended do. | 1796.. | 193,120 | * |
| Ditto, ended 5th January..... | 1803.. | 279,502 | * |
| On an average of three years, ended do. | 1804.. | 309,076 | † |

Here we perceive that the importation of sugar has much more than doubled in about two-and-twenty years. The quantity imported in the first period is copied from a printed speech of Mr. Beresford, in the session of 1783. Lord Sheffield, whom I have hitherto followed, mentions only the quantity imported in the year 1782, viz. 133,110 cwts. 1 qr. which differs somewhat from Mr. Beresford's number; the latter being 133,243.

To the foregoing articles, several others, indicative of an increase of consumers, might be added, such as cotton fabrics, earthen ware, haberdashery, hosiery, hardware, &c. But as the increase of their importation may have been occasioned by the removal of duties, which, however, I am persuaded has not, generally speaking, been the case, we shall forbear to rely on their evidence.

Let us now, for the better illustration of the

* Account laid before Irish Exchange Committee.

† Custom-house books.

subject before us, compress within a narrow compass the substance of the information which we have obtained from a comparative view of the trade of Ireland at different periods.

We have seen that notwithstanding an evident increase of pasturage, the exportation of corn from Ireland has been trebled in the last twenty-one years; and we have found ample reason for being persuaded, that agriculture, which Montesquieu calls an immense manufacture, is actually six times as extensive in that country as it was anterior to the year 1783. We have seen that the exportation of pork, whereby we are sufficiently warranted in measuring the increase of the lower orders of the country people, has been doubled in the last three-and-twenty years, under the operation of contingent circumstances, tending, in a conspicuous manner, to diminish its exportation; and that before the operation of all, but during that of one of these circumstances, its exportation had nearly trebled in eighteen years. We have seen that the products of the breweries and distilleries of Ireland have experienced a prodigious and unprecedented increase. We have seen that the linen manufacture, which directly and eventually affords employment to such multitudes of people, and of which the

value of the surplus produce last year amounted to £3,751,829, has (a suitable allowance being made for the increase of the home consumption) almost doubled in the last twenty-one years. We have seen from the total cessation of the exportation of an immense quantity of wool and yarn from Ireland, and from the existing evidences of an increase of sheep, that the manufacture, at least of the inferior woollen fabricks, has been greatly extended in that country. We have seen that the importation of the raw materials for the cotton manufacture, which gives employment to so many thousands, has increased in an unparalleled degree. We have seen that the exports of glass, paper, candles, soap, &c. have more than doubled in the last three-and-twenty years; and we have sufficient reason for believing that the aggregate produce of these manufactures is thrice as great as it was five-and-twenty years ago. We have seen some new articles in the list of the exported manufactures of Ireland, and there exists no evidence of the decline of any manufacture in that country, except, perhaps, the silk.

We are then, it seems, perfectly enabled by public documents, of indisputable authenticity, to affirm that, upon the whole, the demand for labour, in Ireland, has doubled in the last one-

and-twenty years. And we find ourselves compelled by considerations, which cannot be set aside, to entertain a persuasion that such demand has been much more than doubled in that period of time; and of course it should seem that the number of people employed has been doubled also.

We have seen that the importation of coal has been almost doubled in the last two-and-twenty years: that the importation of old drapery has been quadrupled in the last twenty-one years: that the importation of tobacco has been nearly doubled in the last twenty-one years: that the importation of tea has been nearly doubled in twenty-one years: and that the importation of sugar has been more than doubled in the same period.

This amazing increase in the importation of articles for home consumption, cannot, it is true, be considered as indicative of a proportionate increase of population, although the demonstrated increase in the exportation of articles which require the labour of so many thousands, seems to warrant the opinion, because an increase of wealth, and an increase of activity in the prevention of smuggling, may have had very considerable effects, the former in increasing the consumption among the same

number of people, and the latter in making the importation appear greater than in reality it has been. But making the utmost allowances for the effects of both, I have no doubt it will readily be admitted, especially by those who are acquainted with the circumstances of Ireland, that the increase in the importation of these articles amounts to a complete proof of, at least *half* as great an increase of the inhabitants of that country; and consequently that the actual period of doubling is much shorter than that which has been assumed.

## SECTION XI.

### *Of the Consumption of different Articles in Ireland, considered as an Evidence of the actual Magnitude of its Population.*

SUPPORTED then by such various unequivocal evidences of a late accelerated multiplication of people in Ireland, and by the proofs which were formerly adduced of a rapid increase of the population of that country "under," to use Archdeacon Paley's words, "great defects of police, industry, and commerce," we surely have not ventured too far in computing, that, notwithstanding the effects of the late deplorable rebellion, those of the late years of scarcity, and those of the late war, the population of that country has, since the year 1791, experienced an average annual increase of about 91,448 souls: or increased so as to double in about 46 years; and that, experiencing such an average annual increase, it actually amounts to 5,395,436, or in round numbers 5,400,000.

But although the late rapid increase of the inhabitants of Ireland had not been thus apparently placed beyond the possibility of doubt; the actual existence of 5,400,000 in that country, might be regarded as an almost indisputable fact, on the consideration of what follows.

Of the houses returned to the Irish Parliament, in the year 1791:

| | |
|---|---|
| The number inhabited by paupers, was | 112,556 |
| That of those which had one hearth only, and were not inhabited by paupers | 183,990 |
| That of those which had two hearths | 31,133 |
| That of those which had three hearths | 19,166 |
| That of those which had more than three hearths, but less than nine | 21,356 |
| That of those which had from nine to one hundred and fourteen hearths | 5,410 |
| That of those in the counties of Kildare, Londonderry, and Galway, of which the number of hearths was not ascertained, the books not having arrived when the return was made | 15,023 |
| And that of those which, not being a year inhabited, were exempt from the hearth-tax as new | 21,868 |
| Total | 701,102 |

Distributing the houses of which the number of hearths was not ascertained, and likewise the new houses among these different classes the return may stand thus:

*Year* 1791.

| | |
|---|---|
| Houses inhabited by paupers | 112,556 |
| Houses having one hearth, and not inhabited by paupers | 515,346 |
| Houses having two hearths | 33,785 |
| Houses having three hearths | 10,216 |
| Houses having more than 3, but less than 9 hearths | 23,299 |
| Houses having from nine to 114 hearths | 5,900 |
| Total | 701,102 |

Now assuming that there are at present 900,000 houses in Ireland, inhabited by 5,400,000 people, at six on an average in each house, and observing the above proportions, let us, as a ground-work for our future calculations, suppose the houses actually in Ireland to be as follows, viz.

*Year* 1804.

| | |
|---|---|
| Houses inhabited by paupers | 135,300 |
| Houses having one hearth, and not inhabited by paupers | 669,800 |
| Houses having two hearths | 43,900 |
| Houses having three hearths | 13,200 |
| Houses having more than 3, but less than 9 hearths | 30,200 |
| Houses having from nine to 114 hearths | 7,600 |
| Total | 900,000 |

That the proportions which the different classes of houses, in Ireland, bore to each other in the year 1791, have undergone no material alterations since, will, no doubt, be readily admitted. The fact indeed is sufficiently obvious.

Let us now see whether the quantities of the following articles, viz. home-made spirits, foreign spirits, tobacco, tea, and sugar, consumed in Ireland, do not amount to a proof of the actual existence of the foregoing number of houses.

*Home-made Spirits.*

| | |
|---|---|
| The number of gallons of spirits which paid duty, in each distillery in Ireland, in the year, ended 5th January 1803, was | 4,805,196* |
| And I apprehend it will very easily be believed that the number of gallons, distilled in Ireland, and which did not pay duty, could not have been less than one-fourth of the above, or | 1,201,299 |
| Making together | 6,006,495 |
| The number of gallons exported, on an average of three years, ended 5th Jan. 1804, was | 762,779† |
| Consequently there remained for home consumption | 5,243,716 |

* Account laid before Parliament. I have seen no account for the year ended in 1801. The quantity distilled in that year probably exceeded the quantity distilled the year before.

† Custom-house Books.

## *Foreign Spirits.*

| | |
|---|---|
| The number of gallons of foreign spirits imported into Ireland, on an average of three years, ended 5th January 1804, was | 818,370* |
| And I think it extremely probable that the average number of gallons smuggled into that country did not fall short of one-eighth of the above, or | 102,295 |
| Making together | 920,665 |
| The number exported, on an average of three years, ended 5th January 1801, was | 191,388† |
| Consequently there remained for home consumption | 726,278 |

## *Tobacco.*

| | |
|---|---|
| The number of pounds of tobacco imported, on an average of three years, ended 5th Jan. 1804, was | 6,721,677‡ |
| And as there were *seized* and *sold*, on an average of 12 years, ended 5th Jan. 1803, 133,010 pounds,§ we may presume that the number of pounds smuggled into Ireland, on an average of three years, ended 5th January 1804, was about | 200,000‖ |
| Making together | 6,921,677 |
| The number of pounds exported, on an average of three years, ended 5th Jan. 1804, was | 1,087,170¶ |
| Consequently there remained for home consumption | 5,834,507 |

* Custom-house Books. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid.

§ Account laid before Irish Exchange Committee.

‖ The conjectures which I have made, with regard to the

## *Tea.*

| | |
|---|---|
| The number of pounds of tea imported, on an average of three years, ended 5th Jan. 1804, was | 3,438,837* |
| The number of pounds exported, was | 1,009† |
| Consequently there remained for home consumption | 3,437,828 |

## *Raw and Loaf Sugar.*

| | |
|---|---|
| The number of hundred weights of sugar imported, on an average of three years, ended 5th Jan. 1804, was | 319,737‡ |
| The number of hundred weights exported, was | 1,212§ |
| Consequently there remained for home consumption | 318,525 |

quantities of the foregoing articles which have escaped the payment of duty, are chiefly grounded on the opinions of other persons. They probably fall short of the truth. But though they exceeded it considerably, the reader would find no ground for hesitation; as the average allowance which I shall make for each family will be found in almost all cases, to be beyond the quantity really consumed. The following statement was made of the smuggling trade of England, in 1783. It is extracted from a newspaper. Ships employed, 138; sloops, 86; seamen, 1,600; men by land, 14,700; value of goods, £16,700,000. How far it is authentic I am incompetent to form an opinion.

¶ Custom-house Books.

* Custom-house Books. † Ibid. ‡ Ibid. § Ibid.

Total quantities of the foregoing articles which remained for home consumption:

| Home-made spirits. | Foreign spirits. | Tobacco. |
|---|---|---|
| 5,243,716 gallons. | 726,278 gallons. | 5,834,507 lbs. |

| Tea. | Sugar. |
|---|---|
| 3,437,828 lbs. | 318,525 cwts. |

*Home-made Spirits.* 5,243,716 Gallons.

In 135,300 houses, inhabited by paupers, there probably are not consumed more than 202,500 Gallons; or 1½ on an average in each house.

In 669,800 houses, having one hearth, and not inhabited by paupers..... 2,679,200; or 4 do.

In 43,900 houses, having two hearths..... 793,100; or 16 do.

In 13,000 houses, having three hearths..... 316,800; or 24 do.

In 30,200 houses, having more than three, but less than nine hearths..... 966,400; or 32 do.

In 7,600 houses, having from 9 to 114 hearths..... 319,200; or 42 do.

5,186,500

Remain unaccounted for..... 57,216 Gallons.

## *Foreign Spirits.* 726,278 Gallons.

| | Gallons. | |
|---|---|---|
| In 669,800 houses, having one hearth, and not inhabited by paupers, there probably are not consumed more than... | 167,150; or ¼ | on an average in each house. |
| In 43,900 houses, having two hearths..... | 87,800; or 2 do. | |
| In 13,200 houses, having three hearths..... | 52,800; or 4 do. | |
| In 30,200 houses, having more than three, but less than 9 hearths..... | 211,600; or 8 do. | |
| In 7,600 houses, having from 9 to 114 hearths..... | 167,200; or 22 do. | |
| | 716,850 | |
| Remain unaccounted for ..... | 9,428 Gallons. | |

## *Tobacco.* 5,834,507 lbs.

| | lbs. | |
|---|---|---|
| In 135,300 houses, inhabited by paupers, there probably are not consumed more than | 405,900; or 3 do. | |
| In 669,800 houses, having one hearth, and not inhabited by paupers..... | 1,018,800; or 6 do. | |
| In 43,900 houses, having two hearths..... | 439,000; or 10 do. | |
| In 13,200 houses, having three hearths..... | 158,100; or 12 do. | |
| In 30,200 houses, having more than 3, but less than 9 hearths | 422,800; or 14 do. | |
| In 7,600, having from 9 to 114 hearths..... | 106,400; or 14 do. | |
| | 5,551,300 | |
| Remain unaccounted for..... | 283,207 lbs*. | |

* In the two last, I might perhaps say the three last classes of houses, tobacco is very rarely used except in its manufactured state.

## *Tea.* 3,437,828 lbs.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 669,800 houses, having one hearth, and not inhabited by paupers, there probably are not consumed more than... | lbs. 1,339,600; | or 2 { on an average in each house. |
| In 43,900 houses, having two hearths..... | 439,000; | or 10 do. |
| In 13,200 houses, having three hearths..... | 211,200; | or 16 do. |
| In 30,200 houses, having more than 3, but less than 9 hearths | 906,200; | or 30 do. |
| In 7,600 houses, having from 9 to 114 hearths..... | 456,000; | or 60 do. |
| | 3,352,000 | |
| Remain unaccounted for..... | 85,828 lbs. | |

## *Sugar.* 318,525 Cwts.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In 669,800 houses, having one hearth, and not inhabited by paupers, there probably are not consumed more than... | cwts. 8,037,600; | or 12 do. |
| In 43,900 houses, having two hearths..... | 4,390,000; | or 100 do. |
| In 13,200 houses, having three hearths..... | 2,376,000; | or 180 do. |
| In 30,200 houses, having more than 3, but less than 9 hearths | 9,060,000; | or 300 do. |
| In 7,600 houses, having from 9 to 114 hearths..... | 7,600,000; | or 1000 do. |
| | 31,163,600 lbs. | |
| | 280,925 cwts. | |
| Remain unaccounted for..... | 37,600 cwts. | |

The average quantities of the foregoing articles, which I have supposed to be consumed, in each house, of the different classes into which the houses of Ireland have been distributed, will not, I persuade myself, be considered as short of the truth by those who are acquainted with the different circumstances of the people of that country.

The average quantities of spirits and tobacco, supposed to be consumed by pauper families, must certainly exceed the truth; the value of these quantities being, one time with another, about seventeen shillings: a sum which, it cannot be supposed, is annually expended on articles of luxury by each pauper family in Ireland; whatever may be the case with those who live on alms in this country.

The average quantities of home-made spirits, foreign spirits, tobacco, tea and sugar, supposed to be consumed by families inhabiting single-hearth houses, and not coming under the denomination of paupers, cannot, I apprehend, be below the truth.

Much has been said on the subject of the drunkenness of the inferior orders of the Irish; and under a persuasion of their peculiar and irresistible partiality to whiskey, it may be thought that a greater average allowance of that

article should have been made for families inhabiting single-hearth houses.

In large towns, where, by the way, the observations on the drunkenness of the Irish have generally been made, that fault is, no doubt, very prevalent among the common people. But in the country, it is far otherwise. Except at fairs, *patrons,* wakes and weddings, those who dwell in the single hearth-houses, such as agricultural labourers, cottier-tenants, small farmers, country artificers and weavers, are scarcely ever seen intoxicated, and never use spirits at their meals. Now suppose that two persons out of each family went twenty times in the year to the places of meeting above-mentioned; and that they got drunk sixteen times out of the twenty; in such case the quantity of whiskey annually consumed by each family, would be only two, instead of four gallons: half a pint of ardent spirits being sufficient to intoxicate most persons. Suppose again that one person, in each family, on an average, drank a gill of whiskey every third day, (a supposition, however, which no person of observation residing in Ireland will admit) the annual consumption of each family would still be less than 4 gallons. Besides it must be observed, that some part of the spirits which the lower class of people in Ireland drink,

is given to them by those above them, for whom an ample allowance has been made. It is also to be observed, that the use of malt liquor, is every day becoming much more prevalent among them than formerly. Mr. Dubourdieu particularly notices this fact in his statistical survey of the county of Down; and most gentlemen in the province of Munster, especially in the county of Cork, will be ready to attest it. In that county, porter seems actually to be the favourite liquor among the lower orders. Twelve years ago, they seldom or never drank it.

The average quantity of foreign spirits supposed to be consumed by the people, who live in single-hearth houses, seems very trifling. Their consumption, however, of that article does not, I am persuaded, exceed it. The use of rum, brandy, and geneva, is almost exclusively confined to those above them.

The use of tobacco, as was before remarked, is declining in Ireland. Smoaking is by no means so common there, as in the country here. Of the middle rank of people, not one in fifty is addicted to that custom. And among the lower orders, tobacco is not commonly used, in any way, before the age of thirty. Sir Wm. Petty allows two tons of tobacco

yearly to every 1,000 tobacco takers; or, on an average, not quite four pounds and a half to each individual;* and remarks, that, in his time, when, by the way, as he tells us in another place,† tobacco was unreasonably cheap, the Irish were particularly fond of it.‡ The average quantity, therefore, which I have allowed, viz. six pounds, must be considered as extravagant; especially as tobacco is no longer unreasonably cheap; and the Irish no longer remarkable for their peculiar attachment to it.

As for tea, which is used in almost every cottage in this country, I am persuaded, that with the exception perhaps of some of the labouring poor in, and near Dublin, it is not to be found in one house out of one hundred belonging to that description of people in Ireland: nor in one house out of fifty belonging to the small farmers; nor in one house out of twenty belonging to farmers who hold a hundred acres. And therefore I suspect I have made a much greater average allowance of that article to each single-hearth house than I need have done. I might say the same with

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 352.

† Political Arithmetic, p. 240.

‡ Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 255.

respect to sugar. By the middle class of people in Ireland, much of that article is consumed in punch: the lower class seldom or never mix it with their spirits: and the average quantity which I have allowed to each, viz. twelve pounds, is more than the allowance of tea requires.

But there is another consideration which inclines me to think, that the suppositions which I have made respecting the average quantities of the foregoing articles, consumed annually in single-hearth houses, in Ireland, is not below the truth: I mean the value of these articles. If the quantities consumed be, as I have supposed, the annual expenses of each family, on an average, in these articles of luxury alone, will amount to £3 3*s.* as underneath:

| | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Home made spirits, 4 gallons, at 8*s.* per gallon .... | 1 | 12 | 0 |
| Foreign spirits ¼ of a gallon, at 20*s.* per gallon .... | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Tobacco 6 pounds, at 1*s.* 8*d.* per pound..... | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Tea 2 pounds, at 4*s.* per pound ..... | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Sugar 12 pounds, at 8*d.* per pound ..... | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| | 3 | 3 | 0 |

Now it is certain that *at least one-half* of the inhabitants of single-hearth houses cannot afford to lay out annually more, nor indeed so much,

as three-and-twenty shillings on these articles of luxury. The observations of Mr. Young and Mr. Tighe, fully confirm the assertion. The late exemption of these people from the hearth-tax, amounting to *two shillings* only, may be considered as a decisive evidence of their general inability to expend the above sum thus. Consequently we may transfer two pounds to the expenditure of the other half. And having done so, I would ask any Irish country gentleman whether he thinks that one-half of the people inhabiting single-hearth houses can afford to expend £5 3*s*. annually on spirits, tobacco, tea, and sugar. I know he will not hesitate to answer in the negative.

The average quantities of the articles under consideration, which I have supposed to be consumed in the houses having two hearths, are certainly greater than are, in reality, consumed therein. Eighteen gallons of home-made and foreign spirits would make, I presume, at least 360 quarts of punch, or near one quart for every day in the year: and I can never be brought to believe that a quart of punch, or its equivalent in spirits, is consumed daily, on an average, in every two-hearth house in Ireland: or that twice that quantity is

consumed in one-half of them, and one-half of that quantity in the other.

In about one third of these houses, tea, certainly, is not made use of. There will, therefore, remain near 16 pounds for the annual consumption of each family, on an average, in the remaining two-thirds: which is undoubtedly a greater quantity than each of these families, on an average, consumes.

It seems unnecessary to say any thing with regard to tobacco and sugar; the quantities of these, supposed to be annually consumed in this class of houses, being evidently above the truth.

According to my suppositions, the average annual expenditure, on the foregoing articles of each of the families inhabiting houses with two hearths only, would amount to £14 12*s* 2*d*. as underneath:

| | £ | *s*. | *d*. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Home-made spirits 16 gallons, at 8*s*. per gallon... | 6 | 8 | 0 |
| Foreign spirits 2 gallons, at 20*s*. per gallon..... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Tobacco 10 pounds, at 1*s*. 8*d*. per pound..... | 0 | 17 | 6 |
| Tea 10 pounds, at 4*s*. per pound..... | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Sugar 100 pounds, at 8*d*. per pound..... | 3 | 6 | 8 |
| | 14 | 12 | 2 |

That such an expenditure, on articles of luxury, is far beyond the means of the generality of those who inhabit this class of houses, is a fact which, I apprehend, will not be disputed.

With regard to the houses which have three hearths, and those which have more than three, but less than nine, it is sufficient to say, that the average annual expenditure, in the former, on these articles, would, according to my suppositions respecting the quantities consumed, amount to £27 2*s.* and in the latter, to £48 9*s.* 4*d.* a trifling allowance being made for tea and sugar of rather superior qualities. Whether the average incomes of those who inhabit these classes of houses be adequate to the expenditure of these sums, on articles of luxury, is a question which every man will think himself prepared to answer in the negative.

The expenditure of about £122 on these articles, in families inhabiting houses which have from nine to one hundred and fourteen hearths, seems trifling, when we consider the establishments of the nobility and distinguished commoners of Ireland; but utterly incredible when we look to those of the proprietors of houses, which have from nine to eleven hearths; and

which to the others are as about 3 to 2 in the return of 1791.

Before I quit this stage of the inquiry, I must observe, that the quantity of sugar consumed in Ireland is, alone, a convincing proof of the actual existence of a greater population than I have computed; it being manifest that the average allowance which I have made to each house is greater than can be consumed therein. From this quantity, we may also infer the illicit importation of large quantities of the other articles; as the consumption of each must necessarily be proportionate.

## SECTION XII.

### *Of the Produce of the Hearth-Tax.*

It seems altogether superfluous to have recourse to any other evidences of the late rapid increase, and present magnitude of the population of Ireland; those which have been already considered, appearing to be abundantly adequate to the removal of all doubts which might have been entertained with regard to these subjects. There is, however, one branch of the public revenue, which, on account of its seemingly intimate connexion with an inquiry of this nature, must not be overlooked, I mean the hearth-tax. And yet, in consequence of the great variations in the produce of this tax, we shall find it difficult to derive any satisfactory information therefrom. These variations may, perhaps, in part, be ascribed to fraudulent practices: for we are authorised to suspect the prevalence of such among the collectors of hearth-money, by the concurrent testimonies of two gentlemen (Mr. Bushe and Mr. Wray) who enjoyed the means of detecting them; and were animated by a most laudable solicitude

to do so. But they are chiefly to be ascribed, as will be seen immediately, to different modifications of the tax.

The produce of this tax as stated in the Commons Journals, was,

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| In the year ended 25th of March | 1786 | £62,106 |
| Do. | 1787 | 63,425 |
| Do. | 1788 | 66,750 |
| Do. | 1789 | 70,628 |
| Do. | 1790 | 71,909 |
| Do. | 1791 | 76,983 |
| Do. | 1792 | 77,358 |

From this increase it might be inferred, that the population of Ireland had experienced an increase of nearly one-fourth in seven years; or that it had increased so as to double in about 28 years; or indeed in a shorter period, according to Dr. Price's method of computing the period of doubling. And the produce of the tax in the year ended in March 1792, corresponds very nearly with that which might have been expected from the return of houses laid before Parliament in the early part of that year. The number of hearths in the houses returned, and subject to the tax, was 763,401, which, at 2 shillings per hearth, must have produced £76,340. But besides these there were 15,023 houses, in which the number of hearths was not exactly

ascertained at the time when the return was made. If we suppose two hearths in each of these houses, on an average, then the sum which might have been expected from the return would be £79,344 12*s*. The charge made in the revenue books, for that year, was £80,465, and the receipt, as returned to Parliament, £77,358.

The increase of the population of Ireland, during about ten or twelve years, subsequent to 1786, was certainly astonishingly rapid. I cannot perceive any reason for thinking that it did not equal, or even surpass, in rapidity, that of America. And if the various circumstances demonstrative of its increase, during that period, and which have been noticed, on different occasions, in the course of the foregoing pages, be called to mind and reflected on, we shall find ourselves destitute of grounds for doubting that, thus far at least, the produce of the hearth-tax, and the increase of people in Ireland, have been commensurate with each other.

In the year 1793, an extension of the exemption from the hearth-tax took place; and its produce, in consequence, fell to £69,037. In the year 1795, the Legislature of Ireland humanely exonerated from the pressure of the

hearth-tax all single-hearth houses; and raised it, according to the following scale, on the rest:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| On houses containing 2 hearths..... | 0 | 4 | 10½ | Irish. |
| Do. .....3 do..... | 0 | 8 | 1¼ | |
| Do. .....4 do..... | 0 | 11 | 4½ | |
| Do. .....5 do..... | 0 | 15 | 2 | |
| Do. .....6 do..... | 0 | 19 | 6 | |
| Do. .....7 do..... | 1 | 4 | 4½ | |
| Do. .....8 do..... | 1 | 8 | 2 | |

And on houses having nine or more hearths, 8*s.* 8*d.* for each hearth, stove, &c. After this modification, the produce of the tax was as follows, viz.

| | | Charge. | Receipt. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Year ended 25th March, | 1796 | 43,876 | 42,258 | | |
| | 1797 | 39,514 | 38,338 | | |
| | 1798 | 40,078 | 38,500 | | |
| | 1799 | 47,427 | 44,656 | | |
| | 1800 | 61,253 | 60,832 | £61,777 | † |
| From March 25, 1800, to 5th January..... | 1801 | 49,928 | 48,993 | 49,594 | |
| Year ended 5th January | 1802 | 32,753 | 32,712 | 32,933 | |
| | 1803 | 80,029 | 76,800 | 76,808 | |
| | 1804 | 53,454 | 50,935* | 52,110 | |

These great fluctuations render it impossible to draw from the produce of the hearth-tax, during the last nine years, any satisfactory inference respecting the increase of people in Ire-

* Copied from the Revenue-books.

† The sums in the last column are those which appear in the returns to Parliament.

land. If we take the average produce during the three first years, viz. £39,705, and compare it with the average produce of the three last, viz. £53,482, we shall find the increase in seven years to be upwards of one-third. And if we measure the increase of people by the produce of the tax, we must consider them as having increased so as to double in less than 21 years; which could not possibly have been the case, under the circumstances which have affected the population of Ireland since the year 1796. In fact the produce of the hearth-tax has ceased to be a proper criterion whereby to judge of the increase or decrease of the number of people in Ireland. It may decline in consequence of hearths being stopped up; and yet the population may increase. It may increase in consequence of better houses being built; and yet the population (but this case is by far the less likely of the two) may decrease.

The increase of people in Ireland, since the rebellion, has been tardy in comparison of their increase during several years anterior to that lamentable event. And for this tardiness a most ample allowance has been made in the foregoing computations. The produce of the hearth-tax, however, seems to denote a more rapid increase than during any former period. Per-

haps greater attention has been paid to the business of collection than before. Perhaps too, better houses have been built.

Of all the public documents which have been consulted in the course of this inquiry, and I am not aware of any which remain to be consulted, we have not found one, which, even separately taken, announces a tardy increase of people in Ireland. On the contrary, they all, both separately and conjointly taken, appear to evince, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the late increase of people in that country has been even more rapid than we have supposed.

## SECTION XIII.

### *Of the Average Number of Persons allowed to each House.*

In deducing the population of Ireland from the number of houses returned on different occasions, I have supposed six to be the average number of persons in each house. How far such supposition is grounded will appear from what follows.

By the late survey it appears, that the *inhabited* houses in England and Wales amount to 1,574,902, and the population to 9,343,578;* which gives upwards of 5¼ to each house on an verage. That the average number of persons in each house in Ireland exceeds the average number in each house in this country, will, no doubt, be readily admitted by every person of observation who has resided in both; and will be sufficiently evident hereafter.

Mr. A. Young found that the average number of persons in each of thirty-six *cottier-*

* Mr. Chalmers's Estimate, p. 216.

*tenants houses* in the neighbourhood of Castle Caldwell, in the province of Ulster, was six;* that the average number in each of forty-three houses, of the *same description*, at Drumoland, in the province of Munster, was six;† and that the average number in each of twenty-two houses, of the *same description*, at Kilfane, in the province of Leinster, was six and a half.‡ Mr. Tighe considers six as the average number, in each house, in the county of Kilkenny; and says that, in one village, he found the average number to be *nine:* in others, seven and eight.§ The average number, allowed in the statistical surveys of the counties of Sligo and Tyrone, is six. Mr. Dubourdieu says, that the average number, in each house, in the parish of Annahilt, in the county of Down is 5¼; and allows the same for the whole county.‖ By a very accurate return, with which I have been favoured, of the population of the diocese of Kilmacduagh, it appears that the average number, in each house, in that diocese in the year 1795, was six. By an accurate return, which I possess, of the population of the parish of Tullow, including the town of that name, it

* Tour, Vol. I. 263. † Ibid. p. 414. ‡ Ibid. p. 98.

§ Statistical Survey of the County of Kilkenny, p. 453.

‖ Statistical Survey of Down, p. 214.

appears that the average number in each house was 5¾ in the year 1795. The number of houses, on the great island, in the county of Cork, containing the populous town of Cove, appears to be, according to a return with which I have been favoured, 750; and the number of inhabitants 7,300, or about 9¾, on an average in each house. The population of the town of Fermoy, as taken with the greatest accuracy by the seneschal, in September last, is as follows, viz.

Number of houses inhabited by those who are not soldiers..... 355
Number of inhabitants therein..... 2,534

Being about 7¼ on an average in each house. "Besides these houses," says Mr. Adair, (the gentleman who forwarded to me the return,) "there are 88 now building; and 41 which are inhabited by soldiers. When the soldiers shall quit the latter; and that they and the former are fully peopled, which they will not fail to be in a short time; the population, independent of the army, will amount to 3,431."*

The average number of persons allowed to each house in Dublin and Cork is eight. But

* Extract from Mr. Adair's MS. account of Fermoy, before mentioned.

I apprehend a greater allowance might be made. The average number in the houses of the higher ranks, in Dublin, cannot, I think, fall short of ten. And the habitations of the poor, in both these cities, contain a very dense population.

A gentleman who had opportunities of making himself acquainted with their condition in Dublin, says, that he has frequently found, among other evidences of misery, *four families* living in *one room*. Since the institution, in 1790, of the truly charitable society for the relief of sick and indigent room-keepers, 250,800 persons have been thereby relieved. The proportion likewise of hospitals and seminaries of different sorts to the population of Dublin, is very great. Their number, in and near that city, amounts to 25.

An extremely sensible and well-informed Roman Catholic Clergyman, of great moral and professional worth, assured me, that, when engaged in administering relief to the poor of Cork during the year of great scarcity which succeeded the rebellion, he found in one house, in Coleman's-lane, eighty-three inhabitants, in another, in the same lane, forty-eight Roman Catholics; and in ten houses in Carev's-lane, 166 persons, or upwards of 16½ on an average in each. He is of opinion that the average

number of persons in each house in Cork is nearer 16 than 8.

Mr. Bushe, who took great pains to inform himself on this subject, allows 6¼ to each house in Ireland; and considers himself warranted in doing so, by having found 87,895 souls in 14,108 houses, exclusive of hospitals, barracks, schools, &c. In the county of Wexford, he found the average number, in the houses of widows and paupers, to be 5¼; in single hearth houses 6¼; and in double hearth houses nearly 9.*

The result of Mr. Bushe's survey, in the county of Wexford, and that of a small one which I was chiefly concerned in making, last August, in a part of the county of Cork, distant from the former county about 100 English miles, nearly coincide: and I should therefore, if no other reason existed, consider myself warranted in allowing at least six on an average to each house. In 483 houses, none of which were inhabited by the higher orders, I found 3,025 souls, or upwards of 6¼, on an average in each. In the houses of 40 farmers, holding from 20 to 212 acres, I found 360 souls; or 9

* Essay towards ascertaining the population of Ireland. Transactions Royal Irish Academy, Vol. III.

on an average in each. And in five houses belonging to gentlemen, situated within about one mile and a half of each other, I found 84 souls, or 17 on an average in each.

These are the only facts illustrative of the average number of people in each house in Ireland, which have, as yet, fallen under my observation. They were collected by different persons, in different parts of Ireland. And I think, upon the whole, sufficiently authorise us to consider six at least as the average number of persons in each house in that country.

The following result of the local survey just alluded to, besides furnishing an additional proof of the propriety of allowing at least six persons on an average to each house, will be found to contain some interesting matter.

# No. I.

| COUNTY OF CORK. | | No. of houses. | No. of childr. at home. | No. of servants. | No. of inmates. | Total number of inhabitants. | No. of children produced by marriage. | No. of children dead. | No. of absent children unmarried. | No. of absent children married. | No. of barren marriages. | No. of unmarried women above 20 yrs old. | No. of unmarried men above 24 years old. | Householders. No. of widowers. | Householders. No. of widows. | Householders. No. of bachelors. | Householders. No. of maidens. | No. of couples under one year married. | No. of couples from 1 to 10 years married. | No. of couples from 10 to 15 years married. | No. of couples from 15 to 25 years married. | No. of couples from 25 to 30 years married. | No. of couples above 30 years married. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Parish of Carrigoline. | *Coolmore and Raheens | 45 | 107 | 9 | 37 | 312 | 282 | 86 | 6 | 23 | 0 | 14 | 7 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 9 | 11 | 0 | 2 |
| | *Neighbourhood of Coolmore | 42 | 157 | 22 | 32 | 290 | 227 | 61 | 3 | 6 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 4 | 17 | 4 | 0 |
| Parish of Barnahely. | *Village of Ringskiddy, containing 97 houses | 50 | 147 | 3 | 33 | 274 | 293 | 137 | 10 | 9 | 0 | 3 | 7 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 14 | 6 | 13 | 8 | 0 |
| | *Loughbeg | 16 | 55 | 2 | 13 | 100 | 78 | 20 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| | Shanbally | 20 | 40 | 2 | 14 | 95 | 94 | 41 | 5 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 0 |
| Parish of Liscleary. | Neighbourhood of Ballea | 20 | 82 | 10 | 21 | 149 | 116 | 22 | 0 | 12 | 0 | 11 | 14 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 |
| Parish of Carrigoline. | *Shannon Park | 7 | 29 | 6 | 5 | 54 | 40 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 0 |
| Parish of Ballinaboy. | Liskilleagh | 14 | 38 | 7 | 15 | 86 | 44 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| | Ballinhassig | 23 | 60 | 9 | 19 | 124 | 94 | 23 | 5 | 6 | 1 | 17 | 14 | 9 | 14 | 1 | 2† | 0 | 13 | 17 | 23 | 21 | 1 |
| Parish of Passage. | Town of Passage, containing about 130 houses | 100 | 266 | 58 | 136 | 656 | 547 | 236 | 26 | 19 | 8 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Parish of Templebredy. | Neighbourhood of Hoddersfield | 27 | 112 | 9 | 19 | 190 | 154 | 29 | 5 | 8 | 0 | 11 | 12 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 7 | 8 | 0 |
| | Totals | 364 | 1153 | 137 | 384 | 2330 | 1969 | 660 | 60 | 96 | 13 | 67 | 70 | 22 | 41 | 9 | 2 | 4 | 71 | 60 | 91 | 60 | 4 |
| Parish of Carrigoline. | Curraghbinny | 46 | 145 | 5 | 40 | 278 | | | | | 1 | | | 0 | 4 | 2 | 0 | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | 4 | | | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 | | | | | | |
| Parish of Monkstown. | Village of Monkstown and its neighbourhood | 73 | 243 | 9 | 31 | 417 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | | | | 18 | | | 25 | 47 | 15 | 3 | | | | | | |
| | | 483 | 1541 | 151 | 455 | 3025 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

† Joint tenants.

To face Page 252.

The particulars respecting the districts marked thus *, were collected by myself. Those respecting the rest were furnished by different persons, whose situations enabled them to obtain the desired information without difficulty; and on whose accuracy and intelligence I had reason to rely.

The names of the people, whose houses were visited, being inserted according to my desire, in the returns which were made to me, I had an opportunity of ascertaining whether the information conveyed was correct; and as far as I inquired, I found it to be so.

No gentleman's house, nor any house having more than three hearths, except in the town of Passage, is included in this table.

The houses were taken promiscuously, as they stood in the neighbourhood of the inquirer's place of residence. The number in each district was limited by the time allowed for the inquiry; and by the avocation of the inquirer.

It is not unlikely that, in some few instances, the parents might have forgotten the whole number of their children who died; and also the exact number of years which had elapsed since their marriage. In no other particulars have I reason to suspect the least inaccuracy.

By this table it appears, that the bachelors and maids, who are householders, are not more than about 1 in 27;—that the average number of children, produced by each of 354 marriages, is nearly 5¼;—that of the children produced by these marriages, there have died about ⅓;—that of the children produced by 465 marriages, there reside with their parents, in each house, on an average 3½;—that in 364 houses the unmarried men, above 24 years of age, and the unmarried women, above 20 years of age, are, of the total number of inhabitants $\frac{1}{11}$;—that the barren marriages in 465 are about 1 in 26;—that of the living children, those who have removed from their parents, are about $\frac{2}{11}$;—and that of those who have removed from their parents, there are married about ⅓.

Although the places from which the materials of this table have been drawn lie at no great distance from each other, their respective circumstances are, in several particulars, considerably different; and the observations which I have occasionally made dispose me to think that little would be hazarded by drawing general inferences from them, with respect to the population of Ireland. To draw general inferences however from so very limited a survey

seems perfectly unwarrantable; I shall therefore confine myself to comparing certain particulars exhibited by this little survey with others of a similar nature which I find noticed by Dr. Price, and those which have been exhibited by a local survey of Mr. Gregory King: leaving it to the reader to draw such inferences from the comparison as he may think admissible.

The greatest average number of persons, in each house, in any considerable town, mentioned in Dr. Price's table, containing 36 surveys, made in this country, is 6½; the smallest number 5½; the greatest number in any small town or country parish 5⅔; the smallest number 4½; the average number in the city of Gloucester, according to Mr. Gregory King's scheme, in 1696,* was 4⅔; the average number in 1801, was 5⅓; (the average number in the town of Fermoy, as before noticed, is 7⅛;) in the foregoing table the average number is 6½: the bachelors and maids, householders, in the city of Gloucester, in 1696, were 2 in 15; those in the places mentioned in the table 1 in 27. Dr. Price says that from comparing the births and weddings in different places it appears, that, in the country, marriages seldom

* See Mr. Chalmers's Estimate.

produce less than 4 children, on an average, generally between 4 and 5, and sometimes above 5.* According to Dr. Kersseboom's observations, there are 325 children born from 100 marriages. In the places mentioned in the table, the average number of children produced by each marriage appears to be 5¼. But it is not improbable that, in some instances, the parents might have forgotten the whole number of their children who died; and it appears that there were 135 couples, out of 291, under 16 years married.

According to a survey of the healthful parish of Maidstone, in Kent, made in 1782, and noticed by Dr. Price,† there appeared to be in 1,115 houses 1,932 children under 15 years of age; or, in each house, on an average, about 1¾;—the average number of children of all ages residing with their parents in each house, in the places mentioned in the table, is 3½. According to an accurate survey of the township of Leeds in Yorkshire, made in 1775, and communicated to Dr. Price,‡ the number of inhabitants was 17,121: of whom there were unmarried, above the age of 20, 2,194,

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. p. 42.

† Vol. II. p. 176. ‡ Ib. p. 225.

or about 12$\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. The number of inhabitants in 11 of the places in the table is 2,330, and the number of unmarried men above 24, and of unmarried women above 20, is 137, or about 5$\frac{8}{10}$ per cent. According to a register kept at Chester, for 10 years, as mentioned by Dr. Price,* there appear to have died, in that time, 4,066 persons: of whom there were 430 unmarried above 20 years of age; or about 10$\frac{3}{4}$ per cent.

But the following Table, which embraces a great number of different districts, will serve, in a peculiar manner, to throw light on some of the circumstances connected with the population of Ireland. It is extracted from the accounts of the Committee appointed to distribute the money which was subscribed for the relief of the families of the soldiers who fell during the rebellion of 1798. These accounts were printed by order of the Committee for distribution among the subscribers. All persons applying for relief were under a necessity of producing ample certificates, signed by commanders of corps, parish ministers, or justices of the peace. And with the view of being thoroughly satisfied respecting every particular, the Com-

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. p. 389.

mittee frequently wrote to those by whom the certificates were signed, or to persons of respectability residing in the same neighbourhood.

Total number of yeomen (slain in the rebellion of 1798) whose families applied to the committee for relief, 173: of whom were married, 162.

| Names of District Corps. | No. of married Yeomen slain. | No. of Children who survived their Fathers. |
|---|---|---|
| Antrim yeomanry | 1 | 5 |
| Arcklow cavalry | 1 | 6 |
| Athy yeomanry | 3 | 9 |
| Ballaghkeen cavalry | 4 | 11 |
| Ballinakill yeomanry | 1 | 2 |
| Ballymena ditto | 1 | 3 |
| Camolin infantry | 4 | 19 |
| Carlow cavalry | 2 | 2 |
| Carnew infantry | 1 | 3 |
| Clane yeomanry | 1 | 3 |
| Castletown cavalry | 5 | 17 |
| Clonard yeomanry | 3 | 12 |
| Coolkenno infantry | 3 | 11 |
| Coolgrenny cavalry | 1 | 4 |
| Coolattin yeomanry | 2 | 7 |
| Donard ditto | 1 | 4 |
| Enniscorthy cavalry | 26 | 93 |
| Ditto infantry | 5 | 22 |
| Forenaught cavalry | 1 | 3 |
| Carry forward | 67 | 239 |

| Names of District Corps. | No. of married Yeomen slain. | No. of Children who survived their Fathers. |
|---|---|---|
| Brought over | 67 | 239 |
| Gorey ditto | 19 | 71 |
| Gowran ditto | 1 | 6 |
| Hacketstown yeomanry | 5 | 20 |
| Inch ditto | 1 | 6 |
| Monastereven ditto | 2 | 1 |
| Moon and Talbotstown ditto | 2 | 11 |
| Margallian ditto | 1 | 1 |
| North Naas cavalry | 1 | 0 |
| Nether-cross ditto | 1 | 2 |
| Newtown-ards yeomanry | 4 | 7 |
| Newtown-barry ditto | 1 | 1 |
| Ogles Loyal blues | 1 | 6 |
| Portaferry yeomanry | 3 | 4 |
| Rathangan ditto | 4 | 11 |
| Rathdrum ditto | 4 | 14 |
| Ross ditto | 1 | 0 |
| Scarawalsh infantry | 21 | 75 |
| Taghmon cavalry | 4 | 16 |
| Lower Talbotstown ditto | 1 | 0 |
| Upper Talbotstown ditto | 4 | 11 |
| Tinehely infantry | 1 | 4 |
| Toome yeomanry | 4 | 15 |
| Wexford cavalry | 2 | 6 |
| Ditto infantry | 3 | 5 |
| Wicklow yeomanry | 3 | 13 |
| Wingfield ditto | 2 | 15 |
| Totals | 162 | 560 |

By this table it appears that the average number of *living* children left by each yeoman, who perished in the rebellion, was 3¾. We may, therefore, safely estimate the average produce of children, by each marriage, at 7; as these men were, for the most part, in the prime of life, and several of them, perhaps, not one year married.

The following table is extracted from the first:

## No. III.

*Extracted from Table No. I.*

| Farms. | Number of acres. | Numb. of children at home. | Numb. of servants. | Numb. of inmates. | Total No. of inhabitants including man and wife. | Number of years married. | Number of children produced by marriage. | Numb. of children dead. | No. of absent children married. | No. of absent children unmarried | No. of unmarried women above 20 years old | No. of unmarried men above 24 years old. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 80 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 9 | 22 | 10 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 2 | 20 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 3 | 40 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 10 | 30 | 10 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 4 | 21 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 11 | 32 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| 5 | 50 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 12 | 55 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 6 | 26 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 9 | 33 | 8 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| 7 | 25 | 5 | 0 | 4 | 11 | 9 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 8 | 55 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 9* | 28 | 9 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 9 | 22 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 10 | 18 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 | 20 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 11 | 200 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 11 | 8 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 12 | 70 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 13 | 130 | 9 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 26 | 9 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 14 | 200 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 13 | 18 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 15 | 60 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 9 | 30 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 16 | 20 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 12 | 36 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| 17 | 20 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 11 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 18 | 40 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 20 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 19 | 20 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 8 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 20 | 112 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 11 | 22 | 11 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| 21 | 90 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 11 | 27 | 12 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 22 | 30 | 8 | 2 | 0 | 12 | 19 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 23 | 212 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 9 | 32 | 9 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 24 | 34 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 25 | 29 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 10 | 17 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 26 | 102 | 8 | 2 | 0 | 12 | 20 | 10 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 27 | 20 | 7 | 1 | 2 | 12 | 22 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 28 | 70 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 29 | 100 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 8 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 30 | 99 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 8 | 34 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 31 | 100 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 9 | 8 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 32 | 100 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 9 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 33 | 20 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 11 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 34 | 42 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 8 | 15 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 35 | 75 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 36 | 25 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 20 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 37 | 25 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 26 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 38 | 20 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 16 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 39 | 50 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 6 | 12 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 40 | 75 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 10* | 30 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 40 | 2549 | 191 | 55 | 38 | 360 | | 250 | 46 | 11 | 2 | 13 | 14 |

* Head of the family a widow. * Ditto.

The average number of souls, in each house, is 9;—the average number of children, produced by each marriage, is 6¼;—the average number of children at home, in each house, is 4¾; the average number of living children, produced by each marriage, is about 5;—the barren marriages are 1 in 20;—the couples under eleven years married, are upwards of ¼;—the unmarried women above 20 and unmarried men above 24 years old, are about 1 in 13⅓.—Near nine-tenths of these farmers and their families subsist almost wholly on potatoes and milk: the remainder subsist chiefly on that food.

For the following little table, which enables me to exhibit a local comparative statement of the families and circumstances of persons, engaged in the same business in Ireland, and in this country, I am indebted to the Reverend J. W. Bourke, Vicar of St. Martin's, in the diocese of St. Asaph.

## No. IV.

*Parish of St. Martin's, Shropshire.*

| Farms. | No. of acres. | No. of childr. at home. | No. of servants. | No of inmates. | Total number of inhabitants. | No. of years married. | No. of children produced by marriage. | No. of children dead. | No. of absent children married. | No. of absent children unmarried. | No. of unmarried women above 20 yrs old. | No. of unmarried men above 24 years old. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 150 | 7 | 3 | 0 | 12 | 17 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Widow. 2 | 65 | 0 | 1 | 9 | 11 | 27 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 |
| 3 | 30 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 24 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 4 | 90 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 11 | 16 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 5 | 40 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 8 | 18 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 6 | 100 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 6 | 27 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 7 | 50 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 9 | 22 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Bache- or. 8 | 47 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 9 | 37 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 10 | 60 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 6 | 29 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 11 | 130 | 4 | 6 | 0 | 12 | 7 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 12 | 17 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 13 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 13 | 7 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 7 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 14 | 13 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 40 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 15 | 30 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 11 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ba-he- lor. 16 | 40 | 0 | 4 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| 17 | 32 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 18 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 18 | 150 | 5 | 6 | 0 | 13 | 16 | 9 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| | 50 | 40 | 10 | | 133 | | 70 | 10 | 4 | 6 | 11 | 5 |

The average number of persons, in each house, is about $7\frac{2}{5}$;—the average number of children, produced by each marriage, is about $4\frac{3}{5}$;—the average number of children living at home with their parents is $3\frac{1}{8}$;—the average

number of living children produced by each marriage, is nearly 4;—the couples under eleven years married, are $\frac{1}{8}$;—the unmarried women above 20, and the unmarried men above 24 years old, are about 1 in $8\frac{1}{2}$.

It would be to the last degree trifling, absurd, and unwarrantable to draw any comparative inferences, respecting the populations of England and Ireland, from such extremely limited surveys as the foregoing ones. I may, however, say that the observations which I have occasionally made, in both countries, incline me strongly to believe, that if more extensive surveys of this nature were made in different parts of each, they would not be found to differ from these, in any great degree, on any essential point. But this by the way.

## SECTION XIV.

*Of the more apparent Causes of the disparity, in Point of Increase, between the Populations of England and Ireland.*

In a former chapter, it was observed, that the representation given of the progress of population in Ireland was not likely to be received, without considerable hesitation, by those who were in the habit of directing their chief attention to the progress of population in this country. That such hesitation has already been sufficiently removed, I am prone to believe: and with this impression am not aware of the necessity of investigating the different circumstances which have occasioned, in the latter, a comparatively tardy increase of people during the last century. It seems satisfactory, however, to point out some of the more obvious of these.

By Mr. Gregory King's computation in the year 1696, England appeared to contain

5,500,000 inhabitants.* By Sir Wm. Petty's in 1682, it appeared to contain 7,369,230.† Mr. Chalmers remarks, " that seven millions were considered, by some of the most intelligent men, as the amount of the people of this kingdom at the revolution."‡ By the enumeration in the year 1801, it appeared to contain 9,343,578 inhabitants. Hence, admitting their number to have amounted at the revolution, to seven millions, we find that they did not experience an increase of more than one-third of their number in upwards of one hundred years. Dr. Brankenridge thought that the population of this country would decline if it were not recruited from others. The author of the estimate of the manners and principles of the times went so far as to lament a manifest decrease of people. Both these gentlemen were, no doubt, very gloomy or dissatisfied politicians: as much so perhaps as the late amiable Dr. Price. We have, however, sufficient reason for believing, that, notwithstanding the actual prevalence of a practice considered to be of a depopulating nature, and which shall presently be noticed, the increase which the po

* Davenant's Political and Commercial Works.

† Political Arithmetic, p. 107.

‡ Estimate, &c. p. 58, Vol. II. p. 177.

pulation of this country experienced, since the revolution, was chiefly of a recent date: a circumstance, by the way, which affords matter of pleasant reflection. We perceive all around us evidences of an increasing population; and it is certain, that if such evidences had distinguished the whole of the last fifty years, England would now, notwithstanding the practice just alluded to, be more populous than it is.

In Ireland, on the contrary, as plainly appears by a comparative view of the result of Captain South's computation in 1695, and that of the returns of the hearth-money collectors in 1791, population did more than double twice in 96 years. This signal disparity in point of increase between the populations of England and Ireland, which appears to have escaped general observation, or at least to have made no impression on the political writers of the present day, seems to have been owing chiefly to a less uniformly abundant supply of customary food, within the reach of the inferior people in the former, than in the latter country; and, but particularly, to a comparative infrequency of marriage.

England, no doubt, sustained considerable annual losses of people by emigrations to its foreign settlements, by wars, and by disasters at sea. These, according to Mr. Gregory King,

amounted in his time to about 7,000 souls. Dr. Brankenridge computed their amount to be 8,000. In a considerable degree, however, these losses were compensated by an annual accession of strangers. At all events, they were incomparably less, in proportion, than the loss which the population of Ireland experienced during the last century. Not indeed by disasters at sea, for these must have been very trivial; the surplus produce of Ireland having been exported chiefly in British and foreign vessels: nor by wars, for Ireland was not formerly what it now is, the great *officina militum* of the British Empire: but, as we have before seen, solely by emigrations of different sorts.

It has been remarked too, that, in this country, several manufactures, unfavourable to health, have occasioned a considerable annual loss of people. If so, we may consider this circumstance among the subordinate causes of the disparity in point of increase between the populations of England and Ireland. For the only manufacture in which considerable numbers of the Irish have been engaged, is that of linen: a manufacture carried on without in the least impairing the health of those who are engaged in it; as almost every weaver occupies from one to four acres of land, or upwards,

and being employed occasionally in tilling it, the bad effects which might result from sedentary work within doors, are effectually precluded. No people seem to enjoy greater health and vigour than the northern weavers.

Doctor Price considers the annual waste of London, amounting according to him to 10,000 people, as another peculiar cause of the tardy increase of people in this country. And both he and the author of the Estimate of the Manners and Principles of the Times insist, and with much reason, on the pervasion of luxury, among all ranks, as a powerful cause of depopulation here.

The sagacious Mr. Chalmers and Doctor Price concur in denouncing the union of farms as a practice of peculiar efficacy in retarding the increase of people. " A revolution," says the former gentleman, " which has gradually taken place during the last fifty or sixty years, has lessened the number of suppliers, and added largely to the body of consumers. The cottagers have been driven into villages; the villagers have been forced into towns; and the townsmen have been enticed into cities: while the cottagers remained in their hamlets, and the villagers in their vicinages, they derived much of their subsistence from the soil whereon they

lived, when they became townsmen and citizens, they ceased to be partly suppliers, and began to be altogether consumers.

" By consolidating farms to an enormous extent; by forcing cottagers from their hamlets; by pretending to make much profit with little labour; the agricultural system has depopulated, and is depopulating the shires wherein it prevails."* Doctor Price says, " I can scarcely think of a more evident maxim than that the division of property promotes population. Let a tract of ground be supposed in the hands of a multitude of little proprietors and tenants, who maintain themselves and families by the produce of the ground they occupy, by sheep kept on a common, by poultry, hogs, &c. and who therefore have little occasion to purchase any of the means of subsistence. If this land gets into the hands of a few great farmers, the consequence must be, that the little farmers will be converted into a body of men who earn their subsistence by working for others, and who will be under a necessity of going to market for all they want. And subsistence in this way being difficult, families of children will become burdens, marriage will be avoided,

* Estimate, &c. p. 317, 18.

and population will decline.—This is the way in which the engrossing of farms naturally operates; and this is the way in which, for many years, it has been actually operating in this kingdom."*

If depopulation be the consequence of uniting farms; an increase of people, must, of course, be the effect of dividing them. And as farms appear to have been annually diminishing in Ireland for many years past, we may consider this difference of practice as another cause of the disparity in point of increase between the population of that country and the population of this. Large farms of from 500 to 1500 and 2000 acres, once so common in Ireland, hold actually no sort of proportion to farms of from 10 to 30 or 40 acres. In the county of Down, Mr. Dubourdieu says, that farms run from twenty to forty, fifty, and *in some instances*, so far as one hundred acres.† Such is the case in most other parts of Ireland. For several years past, the landlords of that country have been much in the habit of letting their lands in small divisions.

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. p. 147-8. See his note, page 147, relative to the division of farms in the Austrian Netherlands.

† Statistical Survey of Down, p. 39.

Another custom, and one of a very beneficial tendency, has become extremely prevalent: that of taking considerable tracts of mountain, bog or other waste land, inclosing, improving them, and letting them in small farms of from 20 to 30 acres. Besides this, the cottier-system, or giving a certain quantity of land as an equivalent for wages, prevails, as formerly noticed, throughout most parts of Ireland. In fact, upwards of four-fifths of the Irish people are subsisted chiefly on the produce of the land which they hold.

But the great efficient causes of the disparity in point of increase, between the populations of England and Ireland, seem to have been a less uniformly abundant supply in the former, than in the latter country, of the sort of food which the inferior people have been accustomed to subsist on; and particularly a comparative infrequency of marriage. This last cause may be, and generally, but not always, is the effect of the first. Infrequency of marriage may evidently be occasioned by other circumstances besides the difficulty of procuring a sufficiency of food. And the first cause may be, but is by no means the invariable and necessary result of an union of farms.

"So far," says Archdeacon Paley, "as the state of population is governed, and limited by the quantity of provisions, perhaps there is no single cause that affects it so powerfully, as the kind and quality of food, which chance or usage hath introduced into a country."*

Wheat certainly neither was, nor indeed could have been so abundant in this country, during the last century, as potatoes were in Ireland. Nor were the circumstances of that most numerous class of the community, the labouring people, so favourable here, as there, to the uniform obtainment of an adequate supply of provisions.

About eight or nine-and-twenty years ago, Mr. Young found the average produce of wheat, in this country, to be three quarters per acre. In the course of his tour through Ireland, he found the average produce of potatoes to be fifty-two barrels, or twenty-six quarters per acre, English measure. The quantity of the ordinary food of the people therefore produced by one acre in Ireland, was near nine times greater than the quantity produced by one acre in this country. About the same time, as I have been informed, the wages

* Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 492.

of the day labourer did not, in the latter, generally speaking, much exceed one shilling. Mr. Young found the average price of day labour, in the former, to be sixpence halfpenny.* And remarks, with some surprise, that the wages of country mechanics in both were nearly equal. He also found the average *market* price of potatoes, in Ireland, to be twopence three farthings per stone.† As far as I can learn, the quantity of bread purchaseable, in this country, about the same time, for sixpence, did not much exceed three pounds and a half. The Irish labourer, therefore, with one half of his daily wages, could purchase, at *market*, near five times as much of that sort of food which he was accustomed to subsist on, as the English labourer, with the same part of his wages, could purchase of that sort of food which *he* was accustomed to subsist on. It is true, that potatoes are not so nutritious as bread; and consequently that a greater quantity of the former than of the latter was requisite for the support of a poor man's fa-

* Tour, Vol. II. Part II. p. 39.

† Idem, p. 29. The price of potatoes in Belfast, last June, was 5*d.* in Kilkenny 5*d.* and in Limerick 2½*d.* per stone. The wages of labour are every where more than twice as high as in the year 1777.

mily. Admitting bread, however, to be to potatoes, in point of nutriment, as three to one, which, if the quality of the latter be good, is positively not the case, still the Irish labourer, even under the necessity of going to market, was more competent than the English labourer to maintain a family.

But the Irish country labourers and artificers being, for the most part, occupiers of land, were not under the necessity of going to market; and the prime cost of their potatoes, according to Mr. Young, was only 1½*d.* per stone,* so that they had 28 pounds of food for half the money, which the English people of the same descriptions paid for 3½lbs.; or upwards of five pounds and a half more of real nutriment. Besides this, in consequence of the difference of their respective circumstances, the English labourer or mechanic must always have felt more severely, than a person of the same description, in Ireland, the effects of a short discontinuance of the demand for labour; or a rise in the price of provisions. Moreover, the Irishman's family, having their year's supply of provisions in the house, could never have experienced the same degree of want, in conse-

* Idem, p. 29.

quence of a temporary inability to labour on his part, as must frequently have been experienced in such case by the family of the Englishman.

There is yet another consideration of considerable importance. The English labourers, having their wages paid in money, which, except in large towns, and in some instances in the vicinity of the metropolis, has not been the case with the Irish, the former had opportunities, which the latter had not, of misapplying the means of supporting their families and themselves: and I believe there can be no doubt that many of them have been guilty of such misapplications; and that consequently we may venture to suspect that the lives of many people in this country, as well old as young, have been abridged by successive scanty meals: which, I am persuaded, has not been the case, in Ireland, in one instance out of a thousand. Even had potatoes been the common food of the labouring poor in England, the circumstance of their having been generally destitute of land must have placed them, in point of subsistence, in a far less advantageous condition than that of the labouring poor of Ireland. But though the use of potatoes is becoming every year more prevalent in this

country, they are as yet very far from being the favourite or ordinary food even of the lowest class; and as the demand for them is entirely governed by the quantity of wheat in the country, that demand is subject to such fluctuations as deter the farmers in general, especially in the more remote parts of the country, from a uniform cultivation of them. Hence it happens, that after seasons unfavourable to the growth of wheat, but sufficiently favourable to that of potatoes, the poor find little relief in resorting to them. In some years, potatoes bring five times as great a price as in others; not in consequence of an increased demand for them; but in consequence of the comparative smallness of the quantity exhibited for sale. In Shropshire, last June, the poor generally found it cheaper, upon the whole, to subsist on bread; wheat being 8*s.* potatoes 5*s.* 6*d.* the measure of 75lbs.

But the most powerful proximate cause of the disparity, in point of increase, between the populations of England and Ireland, during the last century, seems to have been the comparative infrequency of marriage in the former country. In Ireland, every circumstance which could, in any respect, influence matrimony, appears to have conduced to the multiplication

of marriages. In England, there appears to have existed a combination of circumstances of an opposite tendency.

The poor laws, which are peculiar to this country, must have proved extremely unfavourable to marriage, among those who constitute the most numerous class of the community. They seem calculated to incite those who are removed above poverty, to prevent or at least to discountenance matrimony among those who are not so. "Even clergymen," says Sir John Nicholls, "have the cruelty to refuse marrying those who they know to be poor, under pretext that their children would become a new burthen to their parish."* This, however, it must be confessed, seems rather too strong an assertion: probably it was altogether unwarranted.

The tax imposed on marriages and births, about the time of the revolution, must also have had a great effect in preventing marriage. Of this tax the celebrated Doctor Davenant speaks thus: "No race of men did multiply so fast as the Jews, which may be attributed chiefly to the wisdom of Moses their lawgiver, in contriving to promote the state of marriage.

* Advantages and disadvantages of France and Great Britain, with respect to commerce, p. 58.

"The Romans had the same care, paying no respect to a man childless by his own fault, and giving great immunities and privileges, both in the city and provinces, to those who had such and such a number of children. Encouragements of the like kind are also given in France to such as enrich the commonwealth by a large issue.

"But we in England have taken another course, laying a fine upon the marriage bed, which seems small to those who only contemplate the pomp and wealth round about them, and in their view; but they who look into all the different ranks of men, are well satisfied that this duty on marriages and births is a very grievous burthen upon the poorer sort, whose numbers compose the strength and wealth of any nation."*

The union of farms, likewise, must have had a considerable effect in diminishing the number of marriages among the country people. A little farmer may derive some advantage from his children; and will seldom, if ever, find them a burden. On the contrary, a day labourer, destitute of land, or a servant, must always find children a burden; and can

* Political and Commercial Works, Vol. II. p. 190.

rarely, if ever, derive any benefit from them.

Another cause of the difference in point of frequency of marriage, in this country and in Ireland, is the characteristic difference between the modes of living which prevail in each. The inferior people in Ireland have been habituated to dispense with all those articles, which the same description of people here have long considered as *necessaries*, in the state of wedlock. And to amass the means of purchasing these necessaries requires much time and more frugality than many are inclined to practise. On the part of the female, capital is rarely collected. What she earns is usually expended in articles of dress, with the view of recommending herself to the other sex. The lower class of females, in Ireland, are but little solicitous to attract admiration; husbands being easily gotten there.

"The cabin of the Irishman," says Mr. Young, "begins with a hovel, which is erected with two days labour, and the young couple pass not their youth in celibacy for want of a nest to produce their young in.* This in many instances is really the case. The furni-

* Tour, Vol. II. Part II. p. 86.

ture of such habitations it may be supposed is not very costly. A bedstead is a luxury which a great majority of the Irish labouring poor are strangers to. And as for clocks, warming-pans, frying-pans, tea-kettles, cups and saucers, &c. &c. which we find in almost every cottage here, I believe, it is unnecessary to say that they never constitute a part of the poor Irishman's furniture. Indeed such articles are very rarely found in the houses of substantial farmers. Some of them never.

" There is reason," says Doctor Price, " to believe that poor countries (provided the ground supplies them with plenty of food, and the poverty of the inhabitants consists only in their wanting *conveniencies* and *elegancies*, in other countries deemed *necessaries*) increase faster than rich countries. The reason is obvious. The greatest enemies to population are the artificial wants, the accumulation of property, and the luxury and vices which are the constant attendants of opulence, and which prevent a regular and early union between the sexes. The inhabitants of poor countries are more simple, more healthy, and more virtuous; and, wanting little besides food, families are no burdens, and the prolific powers of nature have free scope to display

themselves.—Perhaps Ireland is one instance of this."* "The *Necessary of life*, says Doctor Adam Ferguson, is a vague and a relative term: it is one thing in the opinion of the savage, another in that of the polished citizen; it has a reference to the fancy and to the habits of living."†

It is, moreover, to be observed, that a licentious intercourse between the sexes, the inevitable result of the operation of those circumstances, whether laws, taxes, or mode of living, which have rendered marriage inconvenient, has become, in its turn, a very powerful additional cause of the comparative infrequency of marriage in this country. When such intercourse prevails, and when, at the same time, the incomes of individuals are not more than sufficient to supply them while in a state of celibacy with such articles as have come to be accounted among the *necessaries* of life; or even with those articles of comfort which they have been in the habit of enjoying; it is not to be expected that any great proportion of them will voluntarily burden themselves with the additional expences incident to the state of

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. p. 202-3.

† History of Civil Society, p. 213.

wedlock." When the common people of a country, says Archdeacon Paley, are accustomed to eat a large proportion of animal food, to drink wine, spirits or beer, to wear shoes and stockings, and to dwell in stone-houses, they will not marry to live in clay-cottages upon roots and milk, with no other clothing than what is necessary to defend the trunk of the body from the effects of cold; although these last may be all that the sustentation of life and health requires, or that even contribute much to animal comfort and enjoyment."*

As to the children produced by a licentious intercourse of the sexes, they are few, in comparison of those produced by marriage; and, as may well be apprehended, perish prematurely, in considerable numbers; either through the wickedness, the wilful or constrained neglect of their parents, or through the inattention, mismanagement, or avarice of those to whose care they may be intrusted. " Les conjunctions illicites," says Montesquieu, " contribuent peu à la propagation de l'espece. Le pere, qui a l'obligation naturelle de nourir & d'elever les enfans, n'y est point fixé; & la mere, à qui l'obligation reste, trouve mille obstacles, par la

* Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 487.

honte, les remords, la gêne de son sexe, la rigueur des loix: la plupart du tems elle manque de moyens."* The mortality among the children in foundling hospitals, and among those who are dependant for their sustenance on parish charities, is well known.

In Ireland, where this intercourse is comparatively infrequent, especially among the country people, the number of persons brought to justice for the murder of bastard children holds no proportion to that of those who are brought to justice in this country for the same crime. In fact, of all other crimes, it is the most rare in Ireland.

In the year 1696, Mr. Gregory King computed that the average annual marriages, in England, were 41,000, or about 1 in 134; the inhabitants amounting then, according to him, to 5,500,000. At the beginning of the present century, when the inhabitants amounted to 9,343,578, the average annual marriages were reported to be about 1 in 123.

With regard to the proportion of marriages to numbers in the first-mentioned year. Dr. Davenant, who admires and adopts all Mr. King's computations, observes, that, " such is

* L'esprit des loix, Tom. III. C. II. p. 67.

no due proportion; and affords room to infer that the polity of England is someway or other defective.*" The same observation is almost equally applicable to the proportion of marriages to numbers in the year 1800; and, of course, we may say, as no great variation has been remarked, to the proportion of marriages to numbers throughout the last century: which proportion, if we take the average of these statements, is 1 in 128½.

The proportion which marriages have borne to numbers in Ireland throughout the last century, is, and no doubt will remain unknown. The proportion which the former do actually bear to the latter, it will be found extremely difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain. As every circumstance, however, appears to have either directly tended to promote, or to have conduced to facilitate matrimony in that country; and as various circumstances have been eminently unfavourable to it in this country; we might safely venture to presume that, with reference to the respective populations of England and Ireland, the average annual marriages in the latter, have been, to those in the former, as at least 2 to 1: a pro-

* Political and Commercial Works, Vol. II. p. 191.

portion which, if the superior advantages, in point of food, which the children of the inferior class in Ireland appear to have enjoyed, be taken to account, and also the probability of more numerous offsprings, in consequence of earlier marriages and more healthful modes of life, will sufficiently account for the great excess, in point of increase, of the population of that country over the population of this. And although there are no documents extant in proof of their having borne so great a proportion; yet facts are not wanting which sufficiently authorize a persuasion of this nature. Marriage, however, has certainly, of late, become more prevalent in this country; and, within these last three or four years rather less so in Ireland than formerly.

It falls under the observation of those who reside occasionally in this country and in Ireland, that a much greater proportion of persons, in easy circumstances, live in a state of celibacy in the former than in the latter country; and it is from persons, in such circumstances, that the most numerous living progenies generally issue.

By Mr. Gregory King's scheme of the inhabitants of Gloucester, it appears, that the bachelors and maids were 2 in 15 of the householders in that city. By the Tables, in a

former part of this little work, it appears, that in several small districts in the county of Cork, taken together, the bachelors and maids were not more than 1 in 27 of the householders; in other words, that those in the latter were 4 in 108; and those in the former 14 in 105.

According to Mr. King's scheme of the inhabitants of England, the servants constitute about one-tenth of the whole.* And in his scheme of the inhabitants of Gloucester, we find them to amount to 473; or about one-tenth of the inhabitants of that city; the total number being 4,756.† By the survey of the parish of Maidstone in Kent, before cited, made in the year 1782, it appears that there were, in that parish, 5,755 inhabitants; of whom 551 were servants, or nearly one-tenth of the whole.‡ So that we possess some reason for believing that, during the last century, the proportion of servants to the other inhabitants of England, underwent no great variation. Now it is well-known to those who have occasionally resided in this country and Ireland, that the proportion which the unmarried bear to the

* Davenant's Political and Commercial Works, Vol. II. p. 181.

† Chalmers's Estimate Supplement, p. 70.

‡ Price on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. p. 176.

married servants, in the former, is very great; but that, in the latter, the very reverse is the case. This circumstance alone, servants in general being of a marriageable age, must have occasioned a very considerable difference in the proportionate average annual marriages in both countries.

I have often heard it observed, and indeed can bear testimony to the truth of part of the observation, that, during the late war, about two-thirds of the Irish militia men were married subsequently to their enrolment; but that a very inconsiderable proportion of the English militia-men were so. Of the North Cork regiment of militia, which was about 550 strong, during the rebellion, there were slain 95 married men, who left 160 children.*

It is also to be observed, that, contrary to what is generally the case in this country, the lowest state of poverty proves no obstacle whatsoever to matrimony in Ireland.

If then it be true; that celibacy has been extremely rare among persons in easy circumstances in Ireland, which has not been the case here; that marriages have been frequent among

* From the accounts of the Committee appointed to distribute the money subscribed for the relief of the families of those who were killed in the rebellion.

servants, among soldiers, and among paupers, whose circumstances are peculiarly unfavourable to matrimony; which also has not been the case here; and if it be true, as formerly noticed, that persons concerned in agriculture, in Ireland, and who constitute so large a part of the community, have found it to be conducive to their interest to marry; which does not appear to have been the case here, may we not presume, that the annual marriages in that country have, during the last century, held twice as great a proportion to numbers as they have held in this country; where the infrequency of marriage was such as to draw forth from an eminent politician (Dr. Davenant) the despondent remark before quoted; and which seems almost as well-grounded at present, as in the beginning of the last century.

"To check depopulation, says Dr. Price, (who, notwithstanding existing evidences of a considerable increase of people, persuaded himself that the population of this country was on the decline) promote agriculture; drive back the inhabitants of towns into the country; establish some regulations for preserving the lives of infants; discourage luxury and celibacy, and the engrossing of farms."*

* Observations on Reversionary Payments, Vol. II. p. 144.

## SECTION XV.

*Of the difference, in point of density, between the Populations of England and Ireland.*

ACCORDING to Mr. Templeman's survey, England contains 49,450 square miles, and Ireland 27,457. The population of the former, in 1801, being 9,343,578, gave to each square mile, on an average, about 189 persons. The population of the latter being, according to my computations, 5,400,000, gives to each square mile, on an average, about 197 persons, or eight more than in England.

That the population of Ireland is actually more dense than that of England, will not perhaps be easily believed, by those who have travelled through both countries hastily; but will probably be readily acknowledged by every attentive and inquisitive traveller. External appearances, when cursorily viewed, indicate the reverse. These appearances, however, thus viewed, are extremely fallacious. In England, there is an infinitely greater diffusion of

capital than in Ireland. And a diffusion of capital has always the effect of multiplying the buildings of a country; and of course that of giving it a more populous appearance.

Throughout a considerable part of England, the towns and villages seem at least as numerous and as extensive, if not more so, than those in Ireland. They are however, especially the villages, or smaller towns, by no means so populous, in proportion to their extent. Fifty houses, many of them three stories, most of them two stories high, with stables and other out-offices, malt-houses, tan-yards, gardens, &c. &c. make a much greater figure, cover a larger extent of ground, and seem to denote a more numerous population, than one hundred low, wretched, unaccommodated cabins, interspersed with a few comfortable houses. Yet the former rarely contain more than two hundred and fifty inhabitants, generally not so many, as various surveys have proved; while the latter may, and indeed such an assemblage of houses is generally found to contain about six hundred people.

I have very frequently remarked that the dwellings, in the smaller villages, in this country, particularly in tillage districts, do not constitute more than about one half of the build-

ings. In the smaller villages in Ireland, not one building out of ten is uninhabited.

In this country, a considerable proportion of persons of both sexes, belonging to the middle classes of the community, live in a state of celibacy. Such persons often occupy houses of three stories high; and yet their families do not perhaps, on an average, consist of more than three persons. In every country town and village we meet with numbers of them. In the country towns and villages in Ireland they are extremely rare. I am persuaded that not more than three houses in every hundred, are occupied by unmarried persons. It is likewise to be observed, that two servants are generally employed in Ireland, to do that work which, in England, is performed by one.

Another circumstance which, in some degree, tends to deceive the hasty traveller, with regard to the comparative density of population in England and Ireland, is the great difference in the buildings belonging to the people concerned in agriculture, in either country. The houses of the English farmers are mostly from two to three stories high: those of the lowest class of farmers in Ireland, which is by far the most numerous, never more than one. The former have always barns, stables, cow-houses,

&c. attached to them: the latter have very seldom any attached building whatsoever: not always even a pig-sty. When the weather permits the corn is thrashed out of doors.

But there is yet another circumstance which has a much greater effect in the same way. The houses, or rather hovels of the labouring-poor, in Ireland, are extremely low; the walls being frequently not higher than the bank of the ditch near which, or sometimes against which, they are erected. These hovels are likewise uniformly built with mud, and generally thatched with straw, which soon acquires a greenish hue. So that, when at any considerable distance from the public road, it is not always an easy matter to distinguish them from the adjacent fields or field-fences. They are sometimes covered with sods, which makes the task of distinguishing still more difficult.

It is also to be remarked that there are much more extensive tracts of land in England, such as commons, heaths, moors, and, in the north, mountains almost wholly destitute of inhabitants, than are to be met with in Ireland; the vallies in the mountains in that country, are more inhabited, as Mr. Young remarks, than those in this. Wherever the potatoe will grow, and where will it not grow in that country? there

inhabitants are, for the most part, to be found. Less than one acre of land will amply suffice for the maintenance of a poor Irishman's numerous family; and as their maintenance is the chief object of his concern, it becomes almost a matter of perfect indifference to him where that acre is situated. If on the mountain's brow, the better. Heath for firing may there be had: and a couple of ewes or goats for milk, may be conveniently kept. In travelling through England and Ireland, I have frequently counted the habitations contiguous to the roads for four or five miles together; and have found those in the latter, nearly twice as numerous as those in the former.

It is further to be remarked, that, in consequence of early marriages, the cottagers and small farmers houses, in Ireland, contain more inhabitants than those in this country. "Between six and seven souls per cabin," says Mr. Young, "are a population one would not imagine could be resident in such mean habitations; but they swarm with children to the eye of the most inattentive observer."* "In the neighbourhood of Mitchelstown," says that gentleman, "the cabins are innumerable,

and like most Irish cabins, swarm with children."*

But nothing more fully evinces the great density of population throughout Ireland, than the vast numbers who assemble at the Roman Catholic chapels, on Sundays and holydays; or at *patrons*, *hurling* matches or funerals, in those parts of the country, where the habitations are most scattered, and where there is least appearance of a dense population: numbers which have often excited the astonishment, not merely of strangers, but of natives.

The little appendant diocese of Kilmacduagh, in which there is no town of any note, nor any manufacture carried on, and of which, by the way, the population is thinner than in most parts of the counties which surround it, except the mountainous district westward of Galway, comprises, according to Mr. Beaufort, only 64,000 acres Irish measure, which are equal to about 162 square English miles; and yet contained, in the year 1795, 26,958 souls: a number which gave about 166 on an average to each square mile.

In an area comprising parts of the parishes of Carrigoline and Barnahely, in the county of

* Tour, Vol. II.

Cork, and consisting of less than 4,500 acres English measure, or less than seven square miles, I reckoned last summer 407 houses. A partial survey which I made of the population contained therein, leaves no doubt on my mind that the average number of souls in each house, is about 6¼. Taking six however as the average number, the population amounts to 2,442, or 349 on each square mile. In this area there is no manufacture whatsoever carried on. It contains one village only, consisting of 97 houses. There are six gentlemen's country seats in it. About 50 of the inhabitants are sea-faring people, and about twice that number are employed in taking herrings, during two or three months in the year, in an estuary contiguous to their dwellings. The remainder with the exception of paupers, a proportionate number of artificers, and twelve publicans are employed in agriculture.

Under such circumstances as those of the diocese of Kilmacduagh and those of the area just described, it is certain that, in this country, population would not be found so dense as there. And if, in districts thus circumstanced, people are found crouded together in Ireland, it is but reasonable to suppose that they are still

more so in others, where the demand for labour is greater; and consequently, if other proofs were wanting, that the population of that country is more dense than the population of this.

## SECTION XVI.

### *Of the Numerical Proportion of the Roman Catholics to the Protestants of Ireland.*

In prosecuting an inquiry into the progress and magnitude of the population of Ireland, it seems incumbent on us to take some notice of the proportion which the Roman Catholics hold to the Protestants of that country.

The opinions which have been maintained by public men, in Ireland, with regard to this interesting subject differ widely from each other. According to some, the Roman Catholics are to the Protestants as little more than two to one; according to others the former are to the latter as upwards of four to one. Truth is often found to lie equally remote from two extremes. That it does so, however, in this case, I have not found sufficient reason to believe. And I think it is much to be wished that government would take steps to ascertain the fact.

Many individuals of opposite parties in Ireland concur, under different impressions or ap-

prehensions, in deprecating an illustration of the subject in question. For my part, I cannot perceive how any description of persons in that country can be really and permanently injured by its being amply developed. But I can easily perceive how the welfare of the nation at large may be seriously obstructed by its remaining concealed. With this impression, I should not, for a moment, hesitate to announce the truth, were I sufficiently prepared to do so.

All endeavours to conceal or misrepresent the circumstances of a country have an indirect tendency to induce a system of measures, or mode of governing unsuitable to these circumstances; and consequently repugnant to those maxims which every eminent political writer has adopted, and every wise statesman acted upon; and from which, experience has proved, that a practical departure cannot take place without ultimately precipitating the government into the difficulties and dangers incident to the prevalence of dissatisfaction among the governed. Such a system of measures or mode of governing, unequivocally condemned by Machiavel himself, may, no doubt, for a season, prove advantageous to a particular party or sect; but, by keeping the great body of the people in a state of perpetual irritation, they

become the predisponent causes of those dreadful and widely devastating convulsions, of which any inconsiderable emergency may suddenly prove a proximate cause; and which, as history shews us, seldom fail to terminate in a complete, and often deplorable change of the political system, accompanied not merely by the degradation, but by the total ruin of the favoured party.

We may lament that the circumstances of our country do not correspond with our own notions of political felicity; or may, for the moment, disrelish any system of measures or mode of governing incompatible with the views of the party or sect to which we belong. But if such system of measures or mode of governing be manifestly suitable to the general circumstances of our country, our true interest, calmly considered, will, I am persuaded, be found to require our assent to its adoption. And in pursuit of that interest, it obviously behoves us, instead of endeavouring to conceal, or misrepresent, to endeavour to disclose, and to press upon the legislature the consideration of the real circumstances of our country, of whatever complexion they may happen to be, or whatever measures they may happen to suggest.

The political circumstances of Ireland have of late been peculiarly unfavourable to local collections of facts tending to elucidate the numerical proportions of the Protestants and Roman Catholics. And among those who appeared to me most likely to be in possession of these facts, I found an almost uniform and insuperable disinclination to communicate them, apparently under apprehensions equally groundless, absurd and unbecoming. Thus am I, at present, limited to offering mere conjectures, sanctioned by a few authoritative opinions and assertions, and, in some degree, warranted by a small number of detached facts.

It is true, that the individuals, with whose opinions I have been favoured, have enjoyed the very best opportunities of collecting authentic information on the subject in question; and are, moreover, persons, who, I am thoroughly persuaded, would scrupulously decline to communicate any other. But mere opinions and assertions however numerous and concurrent, and however high the respectability and unimpeachable the characters of their authors, obviously afford no fit ground for computation in the case before us. And to draw any thing like a general inference from a small number of facts, however strong, applicable, and well at-

tested, would be altogether unreasonable and nugatory. The opinions and assertions to which I have alluded I shall give, without further preface or comment, in the words of their respective authors.

No. I. " As to the proportion of Roman Catholics to Protestants, I am convinced the former are at least as four to one. In the most protestant northern counties, the Roman Catholics are more numerous than the Protestants and Dissenters of every description. In Munster and in Connaught, they are as fifteen to one. And in Leinster, including even Dublin, they are as five to two upon the whole."

No. II. " I am persuaded that, in the diocese of Tuam, the Roman Catholic families are to the Protestant families, as sixty to one. The number of the Protestant families is not, on an average, six to each parish, if the following ones be excepted, viz. Castlebar, Ballinrobe, Westport, Newport, Athenry, and Tuam, in which the average number may be about fifty at the utmost. The number of Roman Catholic families in the parish of Tuam is 1413."

No. III. " The parish of Tullow, which is

the most protestant one in the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin, but in which the Roman Catholics, notwithstanding, are to the Protestants as six to one, contains more Protestants than the diocese of Kildare, as far as it is comprised within that county; and yet there are in this tract not fewer than 12 parishes, many of which are much superior to that of Tullow in extent and population.

" In the parish of St. Mullin's, in the diocese of Leighlin, there are 4,000 Roman Catholics, and but *one* Protestant. In the town of Graigenamana, in the county of Kilkenny, there are between 4 and 500 houses and cabins; and yet only three or four inhabited by Protestants. In the parish of Allen, in the county of Kildare, though swarming with inhabitants, there is not one Protestant resident of any denomination. In the parish of Arlesin, in the Queen's county, there are between 18 and 19 hundred Roman Catholic families, and only 18 Protestant ones. A majority of the householders in the towns of Mountmellick, Portarlington, and Mountrath, are Protestants or Quakers; but a majority of the inhabitants are Roman Catholics."

Let us now pass from opinions and asser-

tions to facts. The province of Leinster, it is well known, contains a much greater proportion of Protestants than either of the provinces of Connaught or Munster. The parish of Tullow, in that province, is considered as the most protestant one of the diocese to which it belongs. The number of families which it contained, in the year 1795, was 1009: of which only 154 were Protestants. So that it appears, that in the Protestant parish of Tullow, the Roman Catholics were to the Protestants as upwards of six to one.

By Mr. Tighe's statistical survey it appears, that, in the county of Kilkenny, also in the province of Leinster, there were, in the year 1800, 17,212 families, of which only 911 were Protestants. So that in the county of Kilkenny the Roman Catholics were to the Protestant families, four years ago, as about 17 to 1.

In the diocese of Kilmacduagh, in the province of Connaught, the number of Protestant and Roman Catholic families were, in 1795, as follows:

| Parishes. | Protestant families. | Rom. Catho. families. |
|---|---|---|
| Kilmacduagh | 24 | 500 |
| Beagh | 10 | 580 |
| Kiltartan | 9 | 220 |
| Kilbecanty | 7 | 530 |
| Kinvara | 0 | 412 |
| Drumacoo, Kilgolgan, &c. | 1 | 200 |
| Kileely, Stradbally, &c. | 0 | 230 |
| Kilthomas | 3 | 316 |
| Kilcreest, Kilmoclan, &c. | 22 | 394 |
| Kilora, Kiliogillin | 5 | 430 |
| Ardrackan | 4 | 536 |
| | 85 | 4,408 |

So that the Roman Catholic families were to Protestant families as near 52 to 1.

The number of Protestants in the county of Clare, in the year 1765, was 2,476: that of the Roman Catholics 37,144.* So that the latter were to the former as 15 to 1.

In the parish of Carrigoline, in the county of Cork, there are 63 Protestant and 558 Roman Catholic families: or nearly 9 of the latter to 1 of the former.

In these different districts in the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connaught, the Roman Catholics appear to be, on an average, to the Protestants, as nearly 20 to 1. But the proportion

* Mr. Young's Tour, Vol. I. p. 412.

of Roman Catholics to Protestants, in these districts, must be greater; as in almost all Protestant families there are Roman Catholic servants. In a great majority of the larger ones the Roman Catholic servants are, to the Protestant servants, as 3 to 1 at least. But in the Roman Catholic families, Protestant servants are very rarely found.

From the average of the proportions which the Roman Catholics bear to the Protestants in these returns, it would be altogether unreasonable to draw any inference respecting the numerical proportion of the former to the latter throughout the provinces of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster. I shall therefore confine myself to observing, that these returns having been casually obtained, and not selected from others, strongly tend, under the sanction of the opinions and assertions already cited, to authorise an opinion that the Roman Catholics are to the Protestants, in these three provinces, as at least 9 to 1.

Supposing then that such is really the case, and supposing likewise that in the nine northern counties and the city of Dublin, considered together, the Protestants constitute about two-fifths of the general population, which I suspect is above the truth; and that these counties, and

the city of Dublin, contain about one-third, or 1,800,000 of the people of Ireland, which they probably do. In that case, the number of Protestants therein would be about 720,000, and the number, in the other provinces, supposing that the Roman Catholics are therein as 9 to 1 to the Protestants, would be about 360,000; which being added to the former number, makes the number of Protestants, in Ireland, to be about 1,080,000: or somewhat less than one-fifth part of the population of that country. And I think that the actual number of volunteers, viz. 82,941, seems to warrant this opinion: for the men capable of bearing arms are generally found to constitute at least one-fifth of the population; and it may reasonably be supposed that near one-half of the Irish Protestants, capable of bearing arms, are at present enrolled for the defence of our country. Their well-known loyalty, courage, and alacrity, will not indeed admit of our supposing that the number actually in arms is less than one-half. If then we deduct from 82,941, 2,941 Roman Catholic volunteers, which is surely a very moderate deduction, though they have, in many instances, been illiberally and unwisely excluded from the volunteer corps; and multiply the remaining 80,000 by 5, one-

fifth being capable of bearing arms, and afterwards by 2, on a supposition that one-half are enrolled, we shall find the number of Protestants to be only 800,000; and may therefore suspect that their real number does not much exceed what I have supposed, viz. 1,080,000.

If then the numerical proportion of the Roman Catholics to the Protestants be as 4 to 1, according to my supposition, and as I persuade myself an accurate investigation of the subject would evince; the once persecuted, but now tolerated, and protected religion, must have gained ground most rapidly on the established one.

Sir William Petty tells us that in the year 1672, the Roman Catholics were to the Protestants of Ireland as 8 to 3.* But the war of the revolution, and its immediate effects greatly reduced that proportion. In the year 1731, the former, as we shall presently see, were not to the latter as 2 to 1. So that if they be now 4 to 1, they have more than doubled their proportion in about 70 years.

Primate Boulter, in a letter to the Bishop of London, dated May 5 1730, says, " we are daily losing many of our meaner people, who

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 376.

go off to popery." The same representation might, I apprehend, have been made every year since, on at least as good grounds. In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated May 7th 1730, his Excellency says, " The ignorance and obstinacy of the adult papists is such, that there is not much hope of converting them." Whatever might have been the ignorance of the papists, during Primate Boulter's administration, I presume no person will betray so much ignorance as to reproach them therewith at present; and yet we find they are at least as *obstinately*, or, in handsomer language, at least as zealously attached to the religion of their forefathers as at any former period. In a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 13th February 1727, the Lord Justice says, " we have *five* papists to *one* protestant."

With regard to the apostacy of Protestants from the established religion, and the stedfast adherence of Roman Catholics to the religion of their ancestors, his Excellency was probably not in error. But with regard to the then numerical proportion of Protestants to Roman Catholics, it appears that he was either mistaken, or more probably disposed to magnify the number of the latter, with the view of rousing the British government to make some strenuous

exertions in favour of the Protestant cause: for, in his time, exaggeration on this subject was not unlikely to produce a very different effect from that which might be expected from it in ours. Yet, at this day, there may be found Roman Catholics who earnestly deprecate an exhibition of the real magnitude of the population of their communion, under a groundless and unbecoming apprehension of its tendency to excite alarm, and eventually to induce measures of a hostile or irritating nature.

The return which was made to the House of Lords, four years after the Lord Justice's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, shews plainly that the former was either deceived or inclined to deceive others. For by this return it appears that the number of Roman Catholics was 1,309,768, and that of the Protestants 700,453, or that the former were not, to the latter, as 2 to 1 instead of 5 to 1.

This is the return which was made use of by Doctor Bourke, Roman Catholic Bishop of Ossory, for the purpose of exciting the commiseration of foreigners, by proving the diminution of the Roman Catholic population, occasioned by the severity of the penal laws. In his Hibernia Dominicana, printed in Brussells, in 1762, it stands thus:

| Nomina Provinciarum. | Numerus Protestantium. | Numerus Papistarum. | Numerus Utrorumque. | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Conacia.... | 21,604.... | 221,780.. | 243,384 | Juxta Almanachium. |
| Lagenia.... | 203,087.... | 447,916.. | 651,003 | |
| Momonia .. | 115,130.... | 482,044.. | 597,174 | |
| Ultonia.... | 360,630.... | 158,028.. | 518,660 | |

If this return be correct, of which I have seen no reason to doubt, it is abundantly evident that the Roman Catholic has gained ground most rapidly on the Protestant religion in Ireland. No one, I presume, will venture to affirm that the Roman Catholics do not actually hold a much greater proportion to the Protestants, in the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, than, according to this return, they appear to have done in the year 1731. And I am sure if any one did so, he would find no inhabitant of any of those provinces disposed to believe him;—the daily observations of every individual would furnish ample reasons for withholding assent.

Of the whole militia force of these provinces during the last war, I am persuaded the protestants did not constitute more than one-fourth part; although several commanders were extremely solicitous to augment the proportion of their Protestant soldiers. In some regiments, the Roman Catholics were 10 to 1. A late nobleman, (whose death the writer of these pages will long lament) possessing vast and

well circumstanced estates in the province of Munster, held forth, in the year 1793, the most liberal offers of land to such Protestants as would enrol themselves in the regiment of militia under his command; and yet, the writer of these pages, who served therein as Major, can affirm that, for three years at least, the Protestants were not to the Roman Catholics, in his Lordship's regiment, as more than 1 to 4.

The Protestant dissenters are, no doubt, very numerous in the province of Ulster; but I apprehend it will not readily be affirmed that, in the nine northern counties, collectively taken, the Protestants, of all descriptions, actually hold so great a proportion to the Roman Catholics, as according to the foregoing return, they appear to have done in the year 1731.

It appears by one of Captain South's returns, published in the 4th Vol. of the New Abridgment of the Philosophical Transactions, that, in 21 sea-port towns, in Ireland, there were, in the year 1697, 4,424 seafaring people: of whom only 2,654 were Roman Catholics. I believe I may safely venture to say, that the seafaring people, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, hold actually, upon the whole, a much greater proportion to the seafaring people of the established

religion, than the latter appear to have done to the former in the year 1697.

An authentic document with which I have been favoured, by a most respectable Roman Catholic clergyman, to whom I alluded on a former occasion, places, in a clear light, the rapid increase of the Roman Catholic population, at least in the city of Cork.

The Roman Catholics divide that city into three parishes; in each of which the *registered* marriages of those belonging to their church, were as follows:

| Years. | Parish of St. Peter & St. Paul. | North Parish. | South Parish. | Total. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1790 | 47 | 218 | 166 | 431 |
| 1791 | 59 | 237 | 173 | 469 |
| 1792 | 54 | 237 | 199 | 480 |
| 1793 | 44 | 178 | 166 | 388 |
| 1794 | 37 | 251 | 211 | 499 |
| 1795 | 53 | 210 | 191 | 454 |
| 1796 | 56 | 225 | 212 | 493 |
| 1797 | 77 | 236 | 237 | 550 |
| 1798 | 84 | 219 | 227 | 530 |
| 1799 | 81 | 292 | 244 | 617 |
| 1800 | 84 | 179 | 166 | 429 |
| 1801 | 65 | 165 | 194 | 424 |
| 1802 | 96 | 268 | 359 | 723 |
| 1803 | 93 | 277 | 358 | 728 |

The registered baptisms in the South Parish were in

| | |
|---|---|
| the year 1802 | 1400 |
| In 1803 | 1457 |
| And from the 1st of Jan. to the 20th of Aug. 1804 | 900 |

In the other parishes, the baptisms were by no means uniformly registered. Those of the children of paupers were almost entirely omitted. Nor were the baptisms in the South parish carefully registered anterior to the year 1801.

Mr. Tighe, (a Protestant gentleman of an ancient family,) who appears to have investigated minutely all the existing circumstances of the county of Kilkenny, shews us, by a comparative statement of the population of that county, in the years 1731 and 1800, that, notwithstanding a great increase of the general population thereof, there has been a decrease of Protestant families amounting to 324, in 69 years; their number being in the former year 1,055, and in the latter only 731.*

From the rapid and well-authenticated extension of the Roman Catholic religion in the county of Kilkenny, and in the city of Cork, we certainly are not warranted in inferring a similar extension of that religion in all other parts of the provinces of Leinster, Connaught, and Munster. But as the causes which appear to have occasioned such extension in the county of Kilkenny, and the city of Cork, have evi-

* Statistical Survey, p. 456, 7, 8, 9, 60, 1.

dently operated, in almost all other parts of these three provinces; I, for my part, cannot entertain the slightest doubt of their having been productive of like effects.

It has fallen under my observation, and is well known among the Irish country gentlemen, that the little protestant colonies which were planted, at different periods, generally before the year 1731, in several places, especially in the provinces of Munster and Connaught, have, with very few exceptions, totally disappeared. It is also very well known that, in towns, wherein the Protestants were infinitely more numerous than the Roman Catholics, about the beginning of the last century, the latter are at present infinitely more so than the former.

In the year 1672, when, according to Sir William Petty, (the inhabitants of towns and of the country being taken together,) the Roman Catholics were to the Protestants as 8 to 3; the former were, to the latter, *in the country*, as 20 to 1.* In the town of Youghall, the Protestants are said to be nearly as numerous as the Roman Catholics. But I cannot recollect any other town in the provinces of

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 376.

Leinster, Munster, or Connaught, in which they are so. The majority of the inhabitants, though not of the householders, of the Protestant or Quaker towns of Portarlington, Mountmellick, and Mountrath, are said to be Roman Catholics. The Protestant town of Bandon, over one of the gates of which was this inscription, "Turk, Jew, or Atheist, may enter here; but not a Papist," contains at present, as I have been informed, more Roman Catholics than Protestants.

Of the Charter-school children, taken as apprentices, by Protestant masters or mistresses, I have no doubt that one half at least, are converted to the Roman Catholic religion before marriage; and that, in nine instances out of twelve, the marriage of a Protestant with a Roman Catholic is followed either immediately or ultimately by the conversion of the latter.

In the province of Ulster, the Protestants have greatly increased; but whether their increase has exceeded that of the Roman Catholics may I think be very safely doubted. I am not aware of any reason that can be assigned for its having done so; and I am persuaded that sufficient reasons might be assigned for the contrary.

Had not the Roman Catholics rapidly gained ground on the Protestants, in most parts of the provinces of Leinster, Munster, and Connaught, there certainly would have been room for no inconsiderable degree of surprise. Experience has proved that religious sects, instead of being exterminated, have, for the most part, been extended by persecution. A knowledge of human nature, and of the peculiar discipline of the church of Rome, will leave no doubt on our minds that the Roman Catholic religion is, of all others, the most likely to thrive in a state of proscription. And a little reflection on the history of Ireland will convince us, that the circumstances of that country have been peculiarly favourable to the extension of the persecuted religion.

The different natures of the sources, moreover, from whence the Roman Catholic and Protestant clergy derive their respective incomes, seem likely to have had the effects of increasing the zeal of the former in the work of proselytism, and, as far as worldly considerations could, abating that of the latter: and, an abatement of such zeal must necessarily have facilitated the advancement of the Roman Catholic on the Protestant religion,

even though the latter had always been as powerfully supported and exalted as it now is by the erudition, the abilities, the benevolence, the decorous conduct, and the unaffected piety, for which great numbers of the Irish Protestant clergy, and especially their prelates, are confessedly conspicuous.

Besides associations, friendships, alliances, and a variety of cogent considerations must, at all times, have greatly conduced to forward the conversion of a comparative small number of Protestants, of the lower and middle classes, scattered among multitudes of Roman Catholics; while similar preparatory circumstances and inducements could not have facilitated the conversion of Roman Catholics, if even the Protestant clergy had been as assiduous as the Roman Catholic clergy were; because, in no district, of any considerable extent, were the Roman Catholics so far out-numbered by the Protestants, as the latter were by the former, in most parts of the three provinces before-mentioned.

When a proscribed, or merely tolerated religion greatly exceeds the established one, in point of numerical strength, the ordinary causes of the extension of the former will al-

ways be effectually aided by the concurrent operation of many others.

That the Roman Catholic religion, under its present circumstances, will continue to gain ground on the Protestant religion, in Ireland, is I think indisputable. The increasing wealth of the country, it is true, annually raises up a considerable number of individuals, from the middle classes of the community, consisting at present, in the three provinces before-mentioned, chiefly of Roman Catholics, to the higher ones, consisting almost wholly of Protestants. But we find instances of conversion among the wealthy Roman Catholics, notwithstanding their association with Protestants, extremely rare. They look to the attainment of much greater political weight by adhering to, than by forsaking the religion of their ancestors. By the former, they expect to stand among the leaders of a most powerful party; by the latter, they perceive that they must rely on their talents and good fortune alone for future political distinction.

As for the lower orders of the Roman Catholics, not the slightest hope of converting them can now be entertained. Whatever ground the Roman Catholic has, in reality,

gained upon the Protestant religion in Ireland, such ground, I have not the smallest doubt, will not merely be maintained, but enlarged, at least so long as the principal efficient causes of the extension of the former religion continue to operate.

## SECTION XVII.

*Of the competency of Ireland to support a much greater Population than it now contains.*

By the return which was laid before the Irish Parliament, in March 1792, it appears that Ireland contained, in the preceding year, 701,102 houses, which, at six persons on an average, in each, evinced the existence of 4,206,612 inhabitants.

We have already, I apprehend, discovered sufficient reason for believing that the population of that country doubles in 46 years at least; and that it does not actually fall short of 5,395,436.

Its period of doubling, from the year 1791, in the event of the continued operation of those circumstances which have hitherto accelerated the increase of people in Ireland, will be completed in the year 1837: when that country will probably be found to contain about 8,413,224 inhabitants. Let us now inquire

how far it is competent to sustain so great a population.

The competency of a country to support a greater population than it is found to contain, depends, partly on the extent, nature, and other circumstances of its surplus quantity of land; and partly, but chiefly on the quality of the food on which the great majority of its inhabitants have been accustomed to subsist. "So far," as Archdeacon Paley truly remarks, "as the state of population is governed and limited by the quantity of provision, perhaps, there is no single cause that affects it so powerfully, as the kind or quality of food which chance or usage hath introduced into a country."*

Let us first then consider the land of Ireland in different points of view; and, secondly, endeavour to discover the average quantity requisite for the maintenance and exigencies of each individual, assuming that the great majority of the people will continue to subsist on that sort of food which is at present used by the more numerous classes of the Irish community: an assumption which, no doubt, will readily be allowed, as changes of national habits are, ge-

* Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy, p. 492.

nerally speaking, but slowly produced, and the people of Ireland multiply rapidly.

According to the computation of Sir William Petty, in the year 1672, Ireland appeared to contain 10,500,000 acres,* Irish plantation measure.† Of these, he tells us, the

| | Acres. |
|---|---|
| lakes, rivers, rocks, highways, impassable bogs and shrubs, comprised about..... | 1,500,000 |
| The very coarse land, commonly called unprofitable..... | 1,500,000 |
| The good meadow, arable & pasutre | 7,500,000 |
| Total | 10,500,000 |

Subsequent surveys have shewn that Ireland contains 12,001,200 acres, plantation measure, or about 19,439,960 acres, English measure. If Dr. Grewe's method of calculating, which appears to have, of late, superseded Mr. Gregory King's computation, respecting the contents of this country, were employed for the purpose of discovering those of Ireland, that country would appear to contain a much greater number of acres than the above: but this by the way.

* Political Anatomy of Ireland, p. 376.

† One acre Irish measure is 1 acre, 2 roods, 19 perches, $\frac{27}{121}$ English measure: or 121 Irish acres make 196 English.

Of this number, it may be computed, that the lakes, rivers, highways, and decidedly irreclaimable land, of which the proportion in Ireland is, in reality, very trifling, comprise about 1,000,000 acres. This computation agrees sufficiently well with Sir Wm. Petty's: for the shrubs, or woods and impassable bogs included in his first class, and which must have constituted more than one-half thereof, cannot be included in the foregoing number. The woods have ceased to exist; and the impassable bogs have been in part reclaimed, and, no doubt, may be almost entirely converted into good meadow land. What proportion the uncultivated and cultivated lands of Ireland do actually bear to each other, I am not prepared to determine with precision. Mr. Arthur Young remarks, that there is a smaller proportion of waste land, of all sorts, in that country, than in this. Of sterile land there certainly is. "There are people," says that gentleman, "who will smile when they hear that, in proportion to the size of the two countries, Ireland is more cultivated than England. Of uncultivated mountains there are no such tracts as are found in our four northern counties, and the north-riding of Yorkshire, with the eastern line of Lancashire, nearly down to the peak of

Derby, which form an extent of above one hundred miles of waste.*"

Since Mr. Young travelled through Ireland (about seven-and-twenty years ago) both countries have experienced very great changes with respect to cultivation. The great increase in the aggregate exportation of provisions of all sorts from Ireland, notwithstanding the rapid increase of its population, and the demands of a vast army, plainly demonstrate a great increase of cultivation there: but the acts of inclosure which have passed, during his present Majesty's reign, amounting to 1,532, and comprising near three millions of acres, seem to indicate a much greater increase of cultivation here. Exclusive of irreclaimable barren land, it is probable that at this day the proportion of cultivated land is considerably greater, in this country, than in Ireland. According to Mr. Middleton's computation, in his view of the agriculture of the county of Middlesex, and according to other computations which I have seen, the uncultivated land of England does not actually constitute more than about one-fifth part of the whole, which, I should suppose, is a smaller proportion than the unculti-

* Tour, Vol. II. Part II. p. 3.

vated bears to the cultivated land of Ireland: but this is little better than a mere supposition. If the uncultivated land of Ireland bears so small a proportion to the cultivated land as in England, the population of the former, as will be seen hereafter, must necessarily be greater than I have computed.

Mr. Young tells us, and indeed it seems to be now very generally known and admitted, that, in point of natural fertility, Ireland far surpasses England. But notwithstanding this fact, the produce of the arable lands of the former country, in consequence of the prevalence of a most wretched system of husbandry, is, as Mr. Young evinces, by a comparative statement,* considerably inferior to that of the arable lands of the latter. Generally speaking, the produce of an acre is one-fourth greater here than there. Besides, artificial grasses, irrigation, succulent vegetables, and other means of augmenting the mass of food, are very rarely resorted to in Ireland. Moreover, the ordinary mode of tillage, in that country, has a direct tendency to impoverish, while that which prevails, in this country, has a tendency to meliorate the land. And I have no doubt that,

* Tour, Vol. II. Part II. p. 15.

in consequence of the former circumstance, more than one-tenth part of the arable land of Ireland is, one year with another, in an almost sterilized state.

In conformity to these observations, we may compute, but without insisting on the accuracy of the computation,

| | English Acres. |
|---|---|
| That the lakes, rivers, roads, and decidedly irreclaimable land of Ireland, comprise about ..... | 1,000,000 |
| That of waste, but reclaimable land there are about ... ..... | 3,500,000 |
| That in furnishing the different sorts of provisions, &c. exported, there are employed about ..... | 1,000,000 |
| That there are, one year with another, in an almost sterilized or at least unproductive state, about | 1,500,000 |
| And that there remain for the maintenance, and other exigencies of the population of Ireland | 12,439,960 |
| Total..... | 19,439,960 |

which number, regard being had to the difference of management, may be considered as equivalent, in effect, to about 10,000,000 of acres in this country.

" Upon the waste lands of Ireland," says

Mr. Young, "may be practised the most profitable husbandry in the King's dominions; for so, I am persuaded, the improvement of mountain land to be."* "The mountains in the county of Antrim," says that gentleman (and to these he might have added some others) "consist entirely of exceeding good loam, and such as would improve into good meadow."† I have seen potatoes, oats, and hay, all of a good quality, besides garden vegetables, produced in the middle of the Galtee mountains in the province of Munster; and have found young cattle pasturing near the very summit of Galtee moor, the loftiest mountain in that range, and one of the highest in Ireland. "No meadows," says Mr. Young, "are equal to those gained by improving a bog; they are of a value which scarce any other lands rise to."‡ The bog of Allen, which is said to contain 300,000 acres, appears to rest on a stratum of that incomparable manure, limestone gravel; and as there is a fall from it, in most directions, it may, according to the opinions of intelligent persons, be for the most

* Tour, Vol. II. Part II. p. 69.

† Ib. Vol. I. p. 210. ‡ Ib. Vol. II. Part II. p. 74.

part converted, with great profit, into excellent meadow land.*

Many very extensive tracts of the productive land of Ireland are, it is well known, of unrivalled fertility. Some of them seem indeed to be almost inexhaustible. Besides the following ones, noticed by Mr. Young, I could mention several other considerable ones of equal fertility. But that gentleman's report will suffice. "From Elphin to Kingston, the soil ranks among the finest I have any where seen. It is a dry, sound, mellow, sandy loam, and very rich; the herbage excellent."† The soil, in the neighbourhood of Monknewton, is so good, that if used ever so ill, it will recover, and there will be a very good sward."‡ "A great part of Roscommon, particularly from Athlone to Boyle, 30 miles long and 10 broad, is sheepwalk. The soil is limestone."§ This is a very rich tract. "Upon the river Blackwater there are tracts of flat land in some

* "The road leads through the bog of Allen, which would make a noble meadow. Along the edges of the road, which is made with limestone-gravel, is fine white clover." Young's Tour, Vol. I. p. 71.

† Tour, Vol. I. p. 308. ‡ Ib. Vol. I. p. 49.

§ Ib. Vol. I. p. 298.

places a quarter of a mile broad; the grass every where remarkably fine. It is the finest sandy land I have any where seen, of a reddish brown colour, would yield the greatest arable crops in the world, if in tillage. It is five feet deep."* "The rich land reaches from Charleville at the foot of the mountains to Tipperary, by Kilfinane, a line of 25 miles, and across from Ardpatrick to within four miles of Limerick 16 miles. It is a rich, mellow, crumbling, putrid, sandy loam, from 18 inches to three feet deep. I think, upon the whole, it is the richest soil I ever saw, and such as is applicable to every purpose you can wish: it will fat the largest bullock, and at the same time do equally well for sheep, for tillage, for turneps, for wheat, for beans, and, in a word, for every crop and circumstance of profitable husbandry."† "From Cashel to Clonmel the whole way is through the same rich vein of sandy loam I have *so often mentioned:* I examined it in several fields, and found it to be of an extraordinary fertility."‡ "Corcasses on the Maag, a tract of land five miles long and two broad. The grass of them is applied to fatten-

* Tour, Vol. II. p. 28. † Ib. Vol. p. 143-4.
‡ Ib. Vol. II. p. 165.

ing bullocks from seven to eight hundred weight each, and an acre fats one, and gives some winter and spring food for sheep. When they break this land up, they sow first oats, and get 40 common barrels an acre, and do not reckon that an extraordinary crop: they take ten or twelve in succession till the crops grow poor, and then they sow one of horse-beans, which refreshes the land enough to take ten crops of oats more; the beans are very good. Wheat sometimes sown, and the crops very great."* "The Curragh of Kildare is a sheep walk of above 4,000 English acres, forming a more beautiful lawn than the hand of art ever made. Nothing can exceed the extreme softness of the turf, which is of a verdure that charms the eye. The soil is a fine dry loam on a stony bottom."†. "There are tracts of such incomparable land near Mitchelstown that I have seen very little equal to it except in Tipperary, Limerick, and Roscommon. A deep friable loam moist enough for the spontaneous growth to fatten a bullock, and dry enough to be perfectly under command in tillage: if I was to name the characteristics of an excellent soil, I should say that upon

* Tour, Vol. II. p. 135. † Ib. Vol. II. p. 214.

which you may fat a bullock, and feed off a crop of turneps. By the way I recollect little or no such land in England; yet it is *not uncommon* in Ireland."* The following remark is applicable to many parts of Ireland. "The face of the country is that of desolation; the grounds are over-run with thistles, ragwort, &c. to excess: the fences are mounds of earth full of gaps; there is no wood, and the general countenance is such, that you must examine into the soil before you will believe that a country, which has so beggarly an appearance, can be so rich and fertile."†

The foregoing extracts which relate to various parts of Ireland, remote from each other, are sufficient to shew that, in the opinion of one of the most intelligent agriculturists of the present age, the unproductive land of Ireland may be converted, with great profit, into permanently rich soil: that many extensive tracts of the profitable land of that country are of singular fertility: and that the bounty of nature has been, in a great degree, defeated by man.

Ireland is besides better supplied than most other countries with the means of preserving,

* Tour, Vol. II. p. 271. † Ib. Vol. II. p. 147.

or restoring the natural fertility of its soil. Limestone, limestone-gravel, rotten limestone, marle, and other natural manures abound in most of the interior parts of that country: sea-sand, sea-shells, and sea-weeds, the fertilizing qualities of which are well known, are found in abundance along its shores; and rivulets being almost every where to be met with, the practice of irrigation may, in most parts, be pursued with little difficulty or expense.

In fact, eighteen parts of Ireland out of nineteen might, without struggling against nature, as in other countries, be rendered fertile in an uncommon degree, by capital, industry, and ingenuity.

The rivers moreover, and the surrounding seas of Ireland, furnish supplemental means of supporting an immense population. "There is scarcely a part of Ireland," says Mr. Young, "but what is well situated for some fishery of consequence: her coasts, and innumerable creeks and rivers' mouths, are the resort of vast shoals of herrings, cod, lake, mackerel, &c."* The Ban, the Boyne, the Blackwater, the Liffey, the Lee, the Shannon, the Suir, the Bride, the Barrow, and other rivers, abound with ex-

* Tour, Vol. II. Part. II. p. 186.

cellent salmon and trouts; and the lakes with their various peculiar fish. "The fishing of Ireland," says Sir Wm. Temple, "might prove a mine under water, as rich as any under ground, if it were improved to those vast advantages it is capable of."*

Considering then the great natural fertility of the soil of Ireland, the wretched ruinous system of tillage which prevails there, the vast quantities of provisions which are annually exported from thence, the possibility of rendering its waste land as luxuriant as that which is at present cultivated, and the abundant means which it supplies for preserving the fertility of land, we shall have sufficient reason for believing that, without the full aid of its fisheries, it is qualified by nature to support a much greater population than it now contains: "and countries," as Dr. Adam Smith properly remarks, "are populous, not in proportion to the number of people whom their produce can clothe, but in proportion to the number whom it can feed."†

But Ireland, as we have seen, and as we

* Miscellaneous Works, Vol. III. p. 26.

† Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 168.

shall see more distinctly hereafter, is qualified morally as well as physically for the maintenance of an extremely dense population. The superior and more general natural fertility of its soil, may give it a considerable advantage over this country in point of producing food. But it is to the different quality of the food on which an immense majority of the inhabitants of Ireland subsist, and which is likely to continue their favourite or ordinary food, that we are to ascribe the competence of that country to support an infinitely greater proportionate population than this: nay, a population perhaps equal in magnitude to that which the latter at present contains. "Should potatoes," says Dr. Adam Smith, "ever become, in any part of Europe, like rice in some rice countries, the common and favourite vegetable food of the people, so as to occupy the same proportion of the lands in tillage which wheat and other sorts of grain for human food do at present, the same quantity of cultivated land would maintain a much greater number of people, and the labourers being generally fed with potatoes, a greater surplus would remain after replacing all the stock, and maintaining all the labour employed in cultivation. A

greater share of this surplus too would belong to the landlord. Population would increase, and rents would rise much beyond what they are at present."*

Dr. Brankenridge, unacquainted, no doubt, with the great natural and uncommonly general fertility of Ireland, likewise with the different peculiar circumstances of that country, and overlooking the nature of that food in which an immense majority of the Irish community subsist, and the necessary effect of the general use thereof in diminishing the quantity of land requisite for their maintenance, makes a much greater average allowance of land for the subsistence of each individual in Ireland than for the same purpose in this country. Sir Wm. Petty, who knew the natural fertility of Ireland, and to whom that country appeared to contain only 10,500,000 Irish acres, affirmed, without reference to any particular sort of food, that it was competent to maintain 5,500,000 people. The result of subsequent surveys enables us to affirm, in conformity to Sir Wm. Petty's opinion, and without reference to any particular sort of food, that it is actually competent to maintain upwards of six millions.† Instead of

* Wealth of Nations, Vol. I. p. 164.

† Taxes and Contributions, p. 33.

England being competent to maintain a greater proportionate population than Ireland, we shall find that, independently of the acknowledged superiority of the latter, with regard to natural and general fertility of soil, the nature of the food on which the great majority of its inhabitants habitually subsist, together with other peculiar circumstances, render it competent to support an infinitely more dense population than the former.

Potatoes, it is well known, are the great article of food in Ireland; bread in England. Comparatively speaking, a very small quantity of animal food is consumed in that country; a very great one in this. Much of that sort of food is saved there by religious fasts: a very trifling quantity here. By the lowest class in this country, it is, generally speaking, eaten once a week; by the lowest class in that country, generally speaking, never. In England, that most numerous class next above the lowest eat flesh meat three times, or at least twice a week: in Ireland, the same class, which is, in proportion, more numerous than here, do not, generally speaking, eat it once a month. A great majority of that class do not eat it oftener than six times in the year. Substantial farmers and country artificers, in this country, live chiefly

on animal food: the same description of people, in most parts of that country, live chiefly on potatoes and milk. Manufacturers here subsist for the most part on flesh-meat and bread: manufacturers there subsist for the most part on potatoes, oatmeal, and bread, consuming a very trifling proportion of animal food in the year. Among those who subsist chiefly on flesh-meat in Ireland, potatoes are generally eaten with that food in preference of bread. Three meals of animal food in the day are very rarely eaten in that country, very frequently in this.

Now it is evident that the average allowance of land to each individual in a country must be made with reference to the sort of food which is there chiefly used. In a country, wherein the great majority of the people subsist chiefly on animal food, an infinitely larger allowance of land must be made than in one wherein the ordinary or prevailing food of the people is bread; and in this last, a much greater allowance than where the general food is potatoes or rice. The average quantity of land requisite for the support of an individual who subsists on animal food, and uses bread merely as a supplementary article, will maintain five people who subsist on bread, or twelve who subsist on potatoes.

Such at least is the result of the different inquiries which I have made, and of the more received opinions.

If then we divide the British and Irish communities into five different classes, and if we agree in supposing that the first and second classes, in each community, subsist on the same sort of food; that one individual with another of the three inferior classes, of the former community, consumes annually 126 pounds of flesh-meat and 420 pounds of wheat; and that one individual with another of the same classes of the latter community, consumes annually 48 pounds of flesh-meat, and 2,080 pounds of potatoes, the quantity of land which we must allow for the production of the flesh-meat and bread consumed annually by one individual with another belonging to the three inferior classes of the British community, is one acre; and the quantity which we must allow for the production of the flesh-meat and potatoes consumed by the same descriptions of people in the Irish community, is three-sevenths of an acre. So that, in this case, 100 acres may be said to go as far in Ireland as 233 in England.

Mr. Mackie, in his 2d letter to the editor of Dirom's inquiry into the corn laws, as cited by

the Earl of Lauderdale,* says that a farm, consisting of 84 acres of potatoes, 84 of wheat, 81 of oats, 84 of barley, 84 of beans and pease, and 84 of clover, for the use of cattle, will suffice for the maintenance of 1,977 persons subsisting on vegetable food; and that a farm of nearly the same magnitude would not be more than sufficient for the support of 20 families, containing 103 persons, subsisting entirely on animal food, allowing to each family ¼ of an acre for a garden. If this be true, the maintenance of people subsisting wholly on animal food requires nearly 19 times the quantity of land requisite for the maintenance of those who subsist entirely on vegetable food.

The same gentleman says, he found, on inquiry, that 2⅔ lbs. of raw potatoes, and 5½ oz. of oatmeal, were the average daily consumption of each person in a family. The average allowance of flesh-meat which he makes for every individual subsisting on that food, viz. ¾lb. at each of three meals in the day, seems too great. The quantity of potatoes and oatmeal consumed daily by each person in a family, according to his inquiries, seems very small. It

* Inquiry into the Nature and Origin of Public Wealth, Appendix, No. 12.

differs exceedingly from the result of Mr. Young's inquiries in Ireland. That gentleman tells us that, according to the information which he received in different parts of that country, it appeared that about 46lbs. of potatoes were daily consumed by a family consisting of six persons.* This, however, I have reason to suspect neither is, nor can possibly be the case. By the inquiries which I lately made in the province of Munster, it appears that the quantity of potatoes daily consumed by one family with another, consisting of six persons, does not exceed 36lbs: and that quantity is considered as a very ample allowance. A man and woman will not, generally speaking, eat more than 16lbs. in the day; and four children, of different ages, will not, on an average, eat more, nor so much as 5 pounds each, if the potatoes be of a good quality. Three pounds of good mealy potatoes are undoubtedly more than equivalent to one pound of bread; and twelve pounds of the latter is a large daily allowance for a family of 6 persons.

Mr. Young allows eight quarters of wheat for the maintenance of a family consisting of 8 persons, and says, from the information he

* Tour, Vol. II. Part II. p. 34.

received in the course of his tour in Ireland, that the maintenance of the same number of persons requires 41 quarters of potatoes. Surely the nourishment derived from wheat cannot possibly be five times specifically greater than that derived from potatoes; nor indeed does Mr. Young give this as his opinion. He speaks merely on the information which he received. "The food, says Dr. Adam Smith, (whose opinion, however, in the present case, is not so decisive as in others) "produced by a field of potatoes, is not inferior in quantity to that produced by a field of rice, and much superior to what is produced by a field of wheat. Twelve thousand weight of potatoes from an acre of land is not a greater produce than two thousand weight of wheat.—It is not so great. The solid nourishment which can be drawn from each of these two plants, is not altogether in proportion to their weight, on account of the watry nature of potatoes. Allowing, however, half the weight of the root to go to water, a very large allowance, such an acre of potatoes will still produce six thousand weight of solid nourishment, three times the quantity produced by the acre of wheat."*

* Wealth of Nations.

The persons who informed Mr. Young stated, I have no doubt, according to the uniform practice, merely the gross quantity of potatoes consumed weekly or yearly in their respective houses, without discriminating between the quantity consumed by their families, and that consumed by beggars, pigs, and poultry: which, in many parts of Ireland, when Mr. Young travelled through that country, was very considerable. Moreover there was generally before the last two years of scarcity a great waste of potatoes observable in most of the Irish cottages. Besides, in the case in question, there probably prevailed on the parts of the informants a disposition to exaggerate.

But the annexed Table, in which the most ample allowances are made, will, I should hope, remove effectually all doubts respecting the competency of Ireland to support that vast population which it will probably exhibit in three-and-thirty years. The families are distributed into different classes, exactly according to the proportions which the different descriptions of houses in Ireland held to each other in the return of the year 1791; under a persuasion that as no difference has been observed to take place in these proportions in the last 13 years, no *very great* difference will be observable in 33

*Annual consumption of different sorts of Provisions by* 1,402,204 *families, inhabiting the following descriptions of houses.*

| | | | Total number of acres. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1,030,692 families inhabiting houses having 1 hearth | Potatoes, 1,560 stones, on an average each, being the ave | rage produce of one acre and a half ..... | 1,546,938 |
| | Milk, .... 547 gallons do. | being half the average annu l produce of a cow. For each cow 3 acres | 1,546,038 |
| | Oats, .... 57½ pecks do. | being the average produce o f half an acre..... | 515,346 |
| | Wheat, .. 15 ..do.. do. | ..... do.....o f 1-5th of an acre ..... | 206,138 |
| | Pork. .... 150lbs..... do. | | |
| | Grass for 515,346 horses, being one horse on an average t | o every two houses, at 2 acres each horse .. | 1,030,692 |
| 67,570 families inhabiting houses having 2 hearths | Potatoes, 2,080 stones, on an average each, being the ave | rage produce of two acres..... | 135,140 |
| | Milk, .. 1,094 gallons do. | ..... do.....of one cow. For which 3 acres | 202,710 |
| | Oats, .. 115 pecks..do. | ..... do.....of one acre. ..... | 67,570 |
| | Wheat,.. 37½ do. ..do. | ..... do.....of half an acre ..... | 33,785 |
| | Beef or mutton 520lbs. do. } | ..... do. . of about 3 acres, at 12 stone per acre | 202,710 |
| | Pork ..... 520lbs. do. } 1,040lbs. being 20lbs. per w | eek. | |
| | Grass for 67,570 horses, being one on an average to each | house, at 2 acres to each horse..... | 135,140 |
| 20,432 families inhabiting houses having 3 hearths | Potatoes, 2,080 stones, on an average each being the aver | age produce of two acres..... | 40,864 |
| | Milk, .. 1,094 gallons do. | ..... do.....of one cow. For which 3 acres | 61,296 |
| | Oats, .. 2,30 pecks do. | ..... do.....of two acres..... | 40,864 |
| | Wheat, .. 75 do....do. | ..... do.....of one acre ..... | 20,432 |
| | Beef or mutton 1,000lbs.do. } | ..... do. of about 6 acres, at 12 stone to the acre | 122,592 |
| | Pork ..... 560lbs.do. } 1,560lbs. being 30lb. per w | eek. | |
| | Grass for 20,432 horses, being one on an average to each | house, at 2 acres to each horse ..... .. | 40,864 |
| 46,598 families inhabiting houses having more than three hearths, but less than nine | Potatoes, 3,120 stones, on an average each, being the av | erage produce of two acres and a half ..... | 116,493 |
| | Milk, .. 2,183 gallons do. | ..... do.....of two cows. For each 6 acres | 139,794 |
| | Oats, .. 460 pecks do. | ..... do.....of four acres ..... | 186,592 |
| | Wheat, .. 96 do....do. | ..... do. . of about 1 acre and a quarter..... | 58,257 |
| | Beef or mutton 1,600lbs.do. } | ..... do. . of about 9½, at 12 stone to the acre. . | 442,981 |
| | Pork ..... 480lbs.do. } 2,080lbs. being 40lbs. per w | eek. | |
| | Grass for 139,794 horses, being three on an average to e | ach house, at 2 acres to each horse. . . . . | 279,588 |
| 11,800 families inhabiting houses having from nine to one hundred and fourteen hearths | Potatoes, 4,160 stones, on an average each, being the av | erage produce of four acres..... | 47,200 |
| | Milk, .. 6,562 gallons do. | ..... do.....of 6 cows. For which 18 acres | 212,400 |
| | Oats, .. 1,610 pecks..do. | ..... do.....of 14 acres ..... | 165,200 |
| | Wheat, .. 375 do. ..do. | ..... do.....of 5 acres ..... | 59,000 |
| | Beef or mutton 5,800lbs.do. | ..... of 34½ acres..... | 407,100 |
| | Pork ..... 420lbs.do. | | |
| | Grass for 82,600 horses, being seven on an average to e | ach house, at 2 acres to each horse ..... | 165,200 |
| 225,112 pauper families may consume the produce of... | ..... | ..... | 225,112 |
| | | | 8,452,638 |
| 1,402,204 families or houses. | Land for { Barley, store cattle, &c. | ..... | 8,500,000 |
| 6 | Land for { Groves, gardens, orchards, towns, &c. | ..... | 500,000 |
| | | | 17,452,638 |
| 8,413,224 Inhabitants. | | Inhabitants | 8,413,224 |

To face Page 342.

years. The central classes of houses will probably hold a greater proportion to the others than at present; but with respect to their future proportion, it is altogether impossible to form a satisfactory conjecture: nor will it be found essentially necessary to do so.

In the foregoing Table, 17,452,638 acres, or about two acres and twelve perches on an average to each person, have been allowed for the maintenance and exigencies of 8,412,224 people. That a most ample allowance has been made, those who are acquainted with Ireland, or who consider the mode of living which prevails among the great body of the people in that country, will, no doubt, be readily disposed to admit. After such allowance there will still remain 1,987,322 acres. But as there will probably be found among those who subsist on animal food, at least 150,000 Roman Catholics, masters and servants; and as the people of that persuasion abstain from flesh-meat at least 80 days in the year, one year with another, 12 millions of pounds of flesh, or the produce of 71,248 acres, will thus be saved; and these acres may be added to the number of acres before mentioned, which will make the surplus 2,058,750, from whence deducting 1,000,000 for lakes, roads, rivers, and decidedly irre-

claimable land, there will still remain 1,058,750 acres; which I apprehend will be found more than sufficient to supply any deficiencies which may have escaped my notice.

The number of pounds of beef, mutton, and pork, which, according to this Table, will be consumed annually by 8,413,224 people in Ireland, is 363,724,840. The number of pounds of beef, mutton, pork, veal and lamb, consumed annually in England, according to Mr. Gregory King's computation, by 5,500,000 people, was 370,200,000.* From this comparison, those who reflect on the different prevailing modes of subsisting in England and in Ireland, cannot avoid inferring that I have made too great, instead of too small an allowance of animal food for the future population of the latter.

No allowance of land has been made in the Table for the feeding and fattening of swine: these animals being fed with potatoes, for which an ample provision has been made; or occasionally with grains from the breweries and distilleries, or with bran. The small quantity of oats which is given them when destined for bacon, was not worth mentioning. No allowance likewise has been made for the beef and

* Appendix to Mr. Chalmers's Estimate, &c. p. 54.

mutton consumed by the inhabitants of single-hearth houses, their consumption of these meats being extremely trivial; certainly not amounting according to their present dietary to 3 millions of pounds in the whole; or the produce of about 17 or 18,000 acres. The lower classes of people, who subsist themselves, making use of butter-milk almost uniformly, and generally selling their butter, the latter article may be carried over to the consumption of their superiors: for whom, however, an ample allowance has already been made in the article of milk. As for the paupers or mendicants, when we recollect that, according to Mr. Young, one acre, plantation measure, is *more* than sufficient to furnish a year's supply of potatoes for a family of eight persons, we must consider the allowance of land which has been set apart for their use as abundant.

To the oxen and sheep, allowed to the higher and central classes, there are to be added calves, lambs, deer, hares, rabbits, wild fowl, and tame fowl. But as an ample allowance of milk and corn seems to have been made, and a most ample allowance of butchers meat, it was obviously unnecessary to make any allowance of land for the support of these animals. There should also be taken to account a certain proportion of

fish, which with the foregoing articles must considerably reduce the quantity of beef and mutton. The quantum of animal food produced by an acre of land must vary according to the quality of the soil. I have taken the average quantum mentioned in the Appendix to the Earl of Lauderdale's inquiry into the nature and origin of public wealth in preference to one grounded on my own observations, as the former may perhaps be the result of greater experience in rural economy than I shall pretend to. A much greater average produce of milk might have been taken; and also, with a prospect of a better mode of a tillage, a greater average produce of corn than stated by Mr. Young, whom I have followed. In these cases, however, as in others, I thought it expedient to leave the means of supplying such deficiencies as might escape me.

Mr. Gregory King allows no fewer than three millions of acres for woods and coppices, besides an allowance for forests which are blended, in his scheme, with parks and commons. I thought it unnecessary to make any allowance for the former, as a person may travel two or three hundred miles in Ireland, (once covered with forests,) without meeting any considerable

collection of trees, but those which adorn the country residences of the nobility and gentry.

One or two facts will, it is true, tend but very little to confirm the adequateness of the average allowance of land which has been made in the table to each of the future inhabitants of Ireland, on a supposition of the continuance of their mode of living which at present prevails among them. It is our business, however, to throw as much light as possible on the subject.

The average allowance of land which has been made to each family, residing in houses having nine hearths or more, is 89½ acres exclusive of that which may be employed in furnishing them with ale, beer, spirits, store-cattle, pigs, poultry, &c. A country gentleman who has been for many years in the habit of paying the strictest attention to the management of his land, and the consumption of his family, whose demesne, not of the richest ground, contains 108 acres, and whose family consists of 18 persons, assured me that, after amply supplying all home demands, his demesne* yields him, one year with another, a

* The demesne of an Irish country gentleman is that part of his land which he reserves for his own use or pleasure. It differs but little from an English gentleman's *park.*

surplus produce for sale, amounting to upwards of £100. This surplus produce may arise from less than 20 acres; his family, therefore, consisting of 18 persons, do not appear to require more than 88 acres; or about 4 acres, 3 roods, and 22 perches, on an average each person.

In the area formerly noticed, comprising parts of the parishes of Carrigoline and Barnahely, consisting of less than 4,500 acres, English measure, and containing 407 houses, whereof the population exceeds 2,442; the average quantity of land for each person therein falls short of two acres. And the circumstances of this area amount to a practical proof of the possibility of maintaining the population of Ireland upon the average allowance of land deduced from the table.

| | Acres. |
|---|---|
| In this area there are six gentlemen's demesnes, containing together..... | 1,117 |
| Two farms, containing..... | 492 |
| Ten farms, containing together ..... | 868 |
| And eleven farms, containing together | 471 |
| | 1,948 |

The remainder of the land, of which about 60 acres are uncultivated, but afford tolerably good

pasture for sheep, is divided into lots and farms from one to twenty acres each.

The gentlemen's demesnes yield a very considerable surplus for market. And the farms, on eleven of the largest of which are kept 263 cows, yield an immense surplus; the farmers' families, with the exception of two, subsisting chiefly, or generally speaking, almost wholly on potatoes and milk. The average quantity of land employed by twenty of the largest farmers, with the above exception, for the maintenance of their families, does not exceed nine acres, although their families consist in general of nine persons.

Upon the whole, the annual surplus produce of the land in this area, sent to Cork market or exported, is much more than equivalent to the different articles of subsistence annually purchased by its inhabitants beyond its limits.

The adequateness of the average allowance of land deduced from the table, may be still further evinced by the following facts. The counties of Limerick, Louth, Antrim, Armagh, Londonderry, Monaghan, Tyrone, and Down, comprising 2,193,573 Irish acres, or about 3,553,225 English acres, contained in the year 1791, according to the return pre-

sented to Parliament, 209,540 houses, which, at six in each, gave 1,257,240 inhabitants. They probably however contained many more. In these eight counties therefore, three of which, Limerick, Louth, and Down, taken together, sent forth, and notwithstanding the increase of their inhabitants, do still continue to send forth a vast supply of provisions, the average quantity of land for each inhabitant appears to have been little more than two acres, three roods, and twelve perches English measure.

The county of Louth comprises about 890,093 acres, English measure, and contained in the year last mentioned, when sending forth considerable quantities of corn, at least 76,962 inhabitants. So that in that populous and thriving county, the average quantity of land to each person was not quite two acres, one rood, and 15 perches. In the county of Dublin the average was much less: but that county draws provisions from others, and of course is not an admissible proof of the matter in question.

Now as these counties, though fertile, are certainly not, if we except Limerick, upon the whole, among the more fertile counties in Ireland; as their population, to the eye of the

most inattentive observer, has greatly increased since the year 1791; as some of them still continue to send forth provisions; and as they are thickly inhabited by gentlemen who set apart much of their land for purposes of pleasure, and who do not draw from it its full value, I think we possess ample reason for believing that the population of Ireland may be sustained even under the present defective system of tillage which prevails in that country, by an average allowance of about 2 acres and 12 perches of land to each person: or that Ireland is competent to support 8,413,224 people, though to use the words of Bishop Berkley, "it were surrounded by a wall of brass fifty cubits high."

The Roman Plebeian families were allowed, in the 300th year of Rome, but two *jugera*, or about 1¼ acre each. The Hibernian Plebeian families, constituting such a vast proportion of the community, require, in these days of luxury, but little more; leaving thereby an adequate surplus for the exigencies of their superiors.

There is yet another consideration which tends to make manifest the already detected inadmissibility of Doctor Brankenridge's incidental remark respecting the competence of Ireland to sustain as dense a population as England: and that is, the consideration of the ex-

port of provisions of all sorts, from the former country, having increased in a still greater degree than its population. Its population has increased with singular rapidity. It has increased about two-thirds in 25 years. And yet, in about the same space of time, it is certain that its export of beef, bullocks and cows, pork, swine, butter, wheat, barley and oats, collectively taken, have doubled, notwithstanding the intervention and lasting effects of two years of scarcity, one of which almost amounted to a famine, and notwithstanding the necessity under which that country has laboured in supporting an immense army for about ten years. Of what country in Europe can this be said? And on what grounds can we doubt the future increase of people in a country of which this may be affirmed?

Should increasing wealth gradually introduce a change in that mode of living which now obtains among the more numerous classes of the people of Ireland, the farther increase of population, as far as it depends on food, would be but little impeded by such an event. Ireland lies open to the four quarters of the world. Its seas may be navigated throughout the year. Its coasts may for the most part be approached with safety in the most tempestuous weather.

It is every where indented by secure harbours, there being no fewer than sixty-six in a circuit of about 750 miles.* Noble rivers already navigable, or which may be rendered so, intersect it in all parts. Canals may be cut through it in all directions, without exhausting, as in other countries, that supply of water which is requisite for many other useful purposes. Smooth

* *Bays, Harbours, Havens, &c. which afford safe anchorage for* LARGE SHIPS OF WAR,—Cork, Crook haven, Beerhaven, Bantry, Shannon, Galway, Ballinakiel, Killery, Newport, Blacksod, Broad haven, Sheep haven, Lough Swy, Lough Foyle.—*For* FRIGATES,—Belfast, Carlingford, Strangford, Dublin, Waterford, Kinsale, Baltimore, Long Island Sound, Dunmanus, Kenmare, Killala, Sligo, Donegal, Killybegs, the Rosses, Mulroy, Carlingford.——*For* MERCHANT SHIPS,—Racklin Island, Malahide, Wicklow, Wexford, Dungarvan, Youghall, Oyster haven, Courtmacksherry, Glandore, Castle Townsend, Ballinskellicks, Valentia, Dingle, Ventry, Tralee, Arran Island, Castle bay, Greatmansbay, Kilkerran, Cuskeen, Carterbui, Roundstonebay, Ardbear, Claggan, Boffin Island, Rathfron, Milk Harbour, Ballyshannon, Tilen, Lambroit Island, Inishmahon, Inishboffin, Strabegg, the Skerries, Drogheda.

For large Ships of War.... 14
For Frigates..... 17
For Merchant Ships..... 35

Total..... 65, besides 24 places, where ships may find shelter in bad weather.

and durable roads may be, and indeed are made, in every district, however comparatively unfrequented, at an inconsiderable expence. In short, it presents such facilities for an importation and quick transportation of provisions throughout its whole extent, as are not to be found in any other country in Europe, Holland perhaps excepted; and such as effectually guarantee it against the mischiefs resulting from a population disproportionate to internal means of subsistence; by which by extend the ordinary limits of the ...withstanding people.

...untry has
...army for a ...clusion.

A ... Europe ...tion of the various facts which ... been brought into view in the foregoing ... cannot, it is presumed, fail to impress every reader with the vast and increasing importance of Ireland in the political scale of the British empire: and to excite in every good, loyal, and patriotic man, the utmost solicitude for the continuance of internal tranquillity in that country, manifestly qualified to furnish, in the greatest abundance, the means of sustaining the power of the United Kingdom amidst the momentous changes which Europe seems likely to undergo.

The recollection of recent events, accom-

panied by reflection on the nature and inveteracy of those principles of disunion, which have hitherto so frequently had the effects of blasting the growing prosperity of Ireland, and rendering it one of the most vulnerable parts of the British dominions, may create despondency in some. For my part, I think there are considerations which strongly tend to excite sensations of a very different nature.

Surely Irishmen, of all sects, have sufficiently experienced, even the—Cork, ified mischiefs of religious animosity; at Galway, Ba anguish for its alter and fine raven, Shee ely Irishmen of all parties have the spirit of FRIGATES ason to lament the calamitous consequences Waterford, feuds and commotions sufficient. nanus, Kenma, to learn the effects of intes Mulroy, no longer spiracies, cerely Irishmen have din Isla ous coninvolve in ruin, foul, and treason ly imbecility, eracies, and alliances, not on subjection dual ruin, but induce political pa ternal tra ional poverty, humiliation, and the auth ead that industry, civilization, incessarily illity, and alacrity in maintaining drawingy of the laws, while they must nepital, i productive of the happy effects, of ally giver a large proportion of British cato th nuity, and experience, and eventuing additional and lucrative employment usands, are the *true and only means*

whereby Ireland can attain that enviable pre-
eminence which nature has qualified her to
enjoy. Surely Irishmen are prepared to admit
that although the late political system of their
country did undoubtedly supply the means of
rendering it conspicuous amongst the nations
of Europe, yet that, under an equitable
and well cemented union, the sister islands
cannot fail to experience the highest possible
commercial and political advantages, mutually
enriching, strengthening, and aggrandizing
each other. Surely Irishmen must give some
consolation from their country's
*Conclusion.*
having become the theatre of the most
pression and considerable, after ages of
influence have been turmoil, a prominexalted
by [illegible] part of a vast empire, g opu-
[illegible] an unprecedented combination inter-
[illegible] circumstances; by great and incryed by
lence, high martial renown, undistrunity:
nal repose, and perfect civil liberty, oming
all ranks and descriptions of the endure
an empire possessing the means of
irresistible, and much more likely while,
than any which has ever existed. ncon-

Surely Irishmen must perceive thatry to
on the one hand, it is demonstrably, or
sistent with the real welfare of their
urge any factious, frivolous, unfou

unnecessary claim; it is, on the other, no less so with that of England, to withhold any benefit which Ireland may acquire a right to enjoy. Surely Irishmen may find grounds for being persuaded that the statesmen of the United Kingdom sensible of the vast real importance of Ireland, will ever be disposed to investigate promptly, patiently, and minutely the grievances and claims of that country; to redress the former if real, and admit the latter if well-founded, and notified in the temperate, cautious, steady, and becoming manner which accords with the spirit of the British constitution, and corresponds to the dictates of political wisdom.

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*Postscript.*

Since writing the foregoing pages, a pamphlet of uncommon merit has fallen into my hands. It is entitled, "Observations and Reflections on the State of Ireland," by Robert Stearne Tighe, Esq.

Consistently with those principles which I have uniformly cherished, I cannot forego the present opportunity of testifying my high sense of gratitude to that gentleman for his seasonable, strenuous, and I should hope successful,

exertions, to perpetuate harmony in Ireland; and thus eventually insure the preponderance of the power of the British Empire, amid the various momentous changes which the political scale of Europe seems not unlikely to undergo.

Of all the various performances of a similar nature which have fallen under my observation, Mr. Tighe's pamphlet seems by far the best calculated to attain these great ends. Its language bespeaks the accomplished gentleman, the clear and unprejudiced reasoner, the sound politician, the steady loyalist, the solicitous patriot, and the generous and ingenuous man.

*Of the Publications of this Volume may be had,*

*Of the same Author,*

1. *The second Edition of* AN OBSTACLE TO THE AMBITION OF FRANCE; or, Thoughts on the expediency of improving the political Condition of His Majesty's Irish Roman Catholic Subjects. *Price* 1*s.* 6*d.*

It is with great pleasure we peruse such publications as the present from the western part of the United Kingdom, as they show that the Irish in general begin to breathe the spirit of Conciliation, and entertain the justest ideas of true policy with regard to our Catholic fellow-subjects.—That no danger need result from ameliorating the condition of the Catholics, is here demonstratively proved; and the address with which the work is executed, deserves the serious attention of all parties.

Critical Review, June 1803.

The observations and reflections which appear in this little tract have made a deep impression on our minds, that we have been tempted to present the substance of it to our readers.

Literary Journal, Vol. I. p. 613.

However our readers may be of this author's reasoning, we are bound to give him credit for the best intentions, and for the candid and temperate manner in which he has treated the subject.

British Critic, June 1803.

This is a well written and sensible pamphlet.

Monthly Review, June 1803.

1. *The fourth Edition of* THE WARNING TUM, a Call to the People of England to st Invaders. *Price 3d. or 2s. 6d. per dozen.*

This is a strong, sensible, and animated appeal to Britons. impossible for any man, having the heart of a Briton ing in his bosom, to read such an appeal without indig- and rage; and without a fixed determination to shed last drop of blood in his veins in defence of every thing is or ought to be dear to man. To the concluding ad- ion of this estimable author, "In the name of God, let every man now shew himself a true Briton," we ardently say, Amen. Antijacobin, July 1803.

1. Throughout the little tract now before us we find sentiments unexceptionable, expressed in language forcible and clear. Brit. Critic, July 1803.

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